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Memoria, *Meditatio*, and the Margins: Marginalia as *Loci* of Ethical Cultivation in the Macclesfield Psalter

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Memoria, *Meditatio*, and the Margins: Marginalia as *Loci* of Ethical Cultivation in the Macclesfield Psalter

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Dedication

To D, E, and F.

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Abstract

Memoria, *Meditatio*, and the Margins: Marginalia as *Loci* of Ethical Cultivation in the Macclesfield Psalter

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In this paper, I argue that the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter functioned as *loci* of ethical cultivation. The marginal hybrids, I contend, functioned on three levels. On the practical level, they served as *aides-mémoire*, playing a critical role in the overall visual system of the manuscript and its design in fulfillment of the basic principles of medieval mnemotechnique. On the spiritual level, they served as sites for and aids to *meditatio*, the second step in the process of *lectio divina*. As facilitators of *meditatio*, the marginal hybrids assisted the reader in his quest to discover the deeper significance of the Scriptures and, by so doing, to strive for what French scholar Jacques Hourlier called connaturalness with God. Because of their roles in both memorization and meditation, the marginal hybrids also operated on an ethical level as *loci* and *machinae* of moral cultivation. They were the means by which the reader domesticated the text in his mind and heart and confronted his inner self in order to reshape himself in the image of God.

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Preface

The Macclesfield Psalter might have remained in the shadowy recesses of history were it not for the complex nature of family dynamics and the intricacies of British common law. In 2004, the Ninth Earl of Macclesfield, Richard Parker, was evicted from the earldom's ancestral home at Shirburn Castle after a long and acrimonious court battle with the other branch of the Parker family, the resolution of a conflict going back decades.[1] Because of the smaller size of the Ninth Earl's new residence, he engaged Sotheby's to sell his books at auction. Paul Quarrie, the specialist in charge of cataloguing the Earl's library, reached onto a shelf one day while working in the library at Shirburn Castle and pulled down a magnificently illuminated manuscript. It turned out to be a previously unknown fourteenth-century psalter that would prove to be one of the most exciting contemporary discoveries for the study of English manuscripts. It was the book we now call the Macclesfield Psalter.

The discovery of the Macclesfield Psalter also turned out to be an important event in my life. While studying at the University of Cambridge in the summer of 2005, I saw an exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum entitled *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*. I was already a graduate student in medieval studies but had yet to find my place within the field. At the exhibit I saw the Macclesfield Psalter, which was featured in an unbound, post-conservation state that allowed 60 bifolia to be displayed simultaneously. For a budding medievalist in love with the artifacts of the past it was an affecting spectacle. So affecting, in fact, that it prompted the realization that I wanted my life to be devoted to the study of medieval manuscripts.

[1] Will Bennett, "Object of the Week: Macclesfield Psalter," June 20, 2004, sec. Culture, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/3619310/Object-of-the-week-Macclesfield-Psalter.html; See also "Macclesfield v. Parker [2003] EWHC (Ch) 1846," accessed July 5, 2018, https://www.ucc.ie/academic/law/restitution/archive/englcases/parker.htm.

Since that summer, I have carried the memory of the Macclesfield Psalter with me. From the moment I was accepted into the art history graduate program at UT-Austin I knew that this book would be the subject of my master's thesis. The paper below is the culmination of that moment at the Fitzwilliam Museum over a decade ago. Its completion marks the end of one of my life's most important chapters and the beginning of a new, even more avidly anticipated one.

Introduction

According to implicit modern notions of artistic propriety, *decorum* (here used in the classical Latin sense of "appropriateness" or "suitability") dictates that sacred contexts present images consonant with the ethos of a religion and therefore reflect the values espoused by that faith's belief system. As a corollary, images that do not accord with this understanding of seemliness must, as a result, be profane and thence, by definition, out of place. Such a paradigm has undergirded contemporary scholarly and popular evaluation of the marginal grotesques, monsters, and hybrids that began to appear in medieval devotional manuscripts in England in the thirteenth century.[2] The result is a fundamental misreading of the function(s) of these figures that has led to an undervaluation of their central importance in the use of devotional manuscripts. Historically, scholars have sought, in essence, to apologize for the presence of these unusual figures in manuscripts. The resulting evaluations amount to explanations of the necessity of such images that make them conform to our modern conceptions of the secular and the sacred, explanations that are often derived from contemporary understanding of the normative and significative power of monstrosity and hybridity. These figures and scenes draw our eyes because they seem contextually inappropriate. Their presence in medieval manuscripts from various countries throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, argues that medieval viewers did not feel likewise. To us, these images are remarkable because they do not seem to fit in; to medieval readers, they would have "fit in" precisely because they are remarkable.

In academic scholarship, there is no firm consensus on the purpose(s) or meaning(s) of such seemingly profane and apparently incongruous images; there are nearly as many

[2] Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts: 1285-1385*, vol. 5, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986), 37.

explanations for and reactions to their presence in medieval manuscripts as there are scholars who have treated the subject. It seems almost inevitable that anyone wishing to take medieval manuscripts as an object of study will at some point be obliged to put forward his or her own interpretation of these enigmatic figures and scenes. In what follows, I undertake to do just that, offering my own contribution to the literature on the topic of Gothic marginalia.

The subject of this study is the Macclesfield Psalter, a deluxe psalter produced in East Anglia in the 1330s for a young, upper-class, male patron.[3] For the most part, the Macclesfield Psalter is entirely typical of English devotional manuscripts of the period and fits seamlessly with other manuscripts produced by the East Anglian school in the fourteenth century. While visually consistent with contemporaneous manuscript traditions, this manuscript stands out to the modern viewer because of the legions of marginal figures, many of which can be classified as hybrids.[4] For the purposes of this paper, the term "hybrid" refers exclusively to marginal figures constructed from two or more distinct parts of different types. They are composite creatures made up of human, animal, vegetal, and monstrous components and are more numerous than the literal depictions of humans or animals in this codex. Using the Macclesfield Psalter as a case study, I argue that the marginal hybrids are integral to the intended functioning of the Psalter as a devotional manuscript. Rather than serving only as ribald diversions, subversive commentary, or simply entertaining "creations of a vivid imagination" or "earthy humor,"[5] marginal

[3] Stella Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008), chap. 4.
[4] I will use almost exclusively the term hybrid as a matter of efficiency of language rather than an ideological statement. I am sensible of the loaded nature of this and other terms used to describe marginal figures, but tackling this issue in order to create a new vocabulary is outside of the scope of this paper.
[5] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 13.

hybrids were, I maintain, intended to be used as *loci* for meditation (*meditatio*) and, as such, to facilitate the reader's cultivation of a moral and ethical character.

Arguing this point requires an examination of both medieval memory technique, particularly as illuminated in the works of Mary Carruthers,[6] and the process of medieval monastic reading, the *lectio divina*. I intend to demonstrate the way in which the marginal hybrids functioned on three levels. Though I use the term "levels," these phases should not be considered discrete. The functions that I will describe operated more as a *continuum* than a *scala*. In the process of meditative reading, the reader would move forward and backward through the different levels of meaning in a natural and intuitive progression (or digression!); we might even conceive of all three levels happening simultaneously.

The first, the practical level, related to the function of marginal images in manuscripts as memorial cues or bookmarks. In this capacity, the marginalia served as devices with which the reader could store text (*verba*) or things (*res*) in his memory or prompts through which he could recall them from these storage locations. In this context I will explore not only the external evidence for the use of images in medieval mnemotechnique from ancient and contemporary written sources and practices but also the internal evidence from within the Macclesfield Psalter itself. Topics for analysis include the form of the marginal images, the frequency of their appearance and patterns of placement, the relationship of the marginal images to the text, and their relationship to the "central" images and other components of the decorative program.

The second level on which marginal hybrids functioned was spiritual. I assert that marginal hybrids served as *loci* for the second step in the process of monastic reading

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[6] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

(*lectio divina*) called *meditatio*. Contemplation of these images facilitated the process of *meditatio* by providing locations for the eye to explore while the visuals inspired the mind to assimilate, contemplate, ingest, digest, and re-fashion what was read. I propose to demonstrate this by drawing parallels between the well-studied tradition of using images (including diagrammatic and non-representational images) for meditation and devotional practice and the much less studied marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter. The internal evidence discoverable in the manuscript that supports the use of marginal hybrids for *meditatio* will also be examine. This evidence includes the construction of the figures, their relationship to the text and the other decorative elements, the iconographic and symbolic parallels between the hybrids and the process and language of *meditatio*, the non-standard iconography of these figures (particularly as opposed to the standardized iconography of the historiated initials), and the manuscript's size in relationship to meditative reading. Although I take pains to emphasize that the marginal hybrids could inspire and structure meditations not directly related to the text, the examples that I give below exemplify the relationship of logical connection. The reason for this is simple. Meditations are so personal that, unless I were to experience a spontaneous meditation for myself while reading the Macclesfield Psalter, I could not hope to speculate on how such a meditation might proceed.

The third, the interplay of the practical and the spiritual, was the ethical level. Because marginal hybrids served as *loci* for *meditatio*, the process by which the text was assimilated by the reader, imprinted on his memory, integrated into his own personal experience, and probed in prayerful rumination for its deeper meaning, they aided in the cultivation of an ethical character. The relationship between memory and ethics was part of the cultural heritage of the Middle Ages. I use this important relationship, along with evidence for the role of marginal hybrids in meditation, to elucidate the way in which these

marginal figures acted as tools in the development of the reader's moral compass. Stella Panayotova presented convincing evidence that this manuscript was created for a man under the auspices of his Dominican confessor and that this man was most likely young and either in minor orders or just beginning his training for the clergy.[7] As such, the cultivation of a moral nature and the ability to understand the "difficult tropes" (to borrow a phrase from Augustine) of the Psalms, rather than simply retain them in memory, would have been paramount.

These three levels formed a complex yet intuitively-crafted mental web that the Macclesfield Psalter's reader/viewer would have woven without necessarily making a conscious effort to do so. For the manuscript's young patron, using the marginal hybrids in the way described above was an organic process prompted by his education and training in meditative reading (or at least his participation in the intellectually embedded tradition of this art). Such marginal hybrids, then, were, to borrow a phrase from Mary Carruthers, "designedly functional." They were not merely ornamental, amusing, instructive, or frightening, but first and foremost utilitarian tools for "effective thinking."[8] Whereas Carruthers' treatment of manuscript decoration focuses on the visual system as a whole, I focus the lens she has fashioned on the marginal figures.

MARGINALIA: A BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW

Medieval marginal monsters, hybrids, and grotesques have been objects of interest at least since Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) commented on them in the *Apologia ad Guillelmum* (1125).[9] We can't say what Bernard would have made of the marginal hybrids,

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[7] See note 3 above.

[8] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 118.

[9] For an English translation of Bernard's text see: Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

grotesques, and monsters in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century devotional manuscripts, but we can observe a series of trends in the modern scholarship on the subject of Bernard's remarks. In many studies of marginal art from the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, the main issue seems to have been whether marginal grotesques and hybrids functioned as symbols or as mere ornament (or lewd and offensive creations) devoid of meaning. This debate can be seen in the work of influential French art historian Emile Mâle, as well as later art historians such as Margaret Rickert, Eric Millar, and Meyer Schapiro.[10]

When Lilian Randall's seminal book *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (1966), the issue was no longer whether or not marginal drôleries *had* meaning but rather *what* that meaning was.[11] Randall's work, and that of contemporary scholars such as Lucy Freeman Sandler, developed an emphasis on context, a methodological approach that remains dominant in the field to this day. The primacy of context is perhaps most potently conveyed in Sandler's article on the Luttrell Psalter published in 1996.[12] In this piece, Sandler explored the idea of marginal figures and scenes as *imagines verborum*, images that illustrate the text in various ways. Sandler concluded her essay with the assertion that "words in the text and images in the margin – even when they are opposed – both belong to a *visual system*" (Sandler's emphasis).[13] Here Sandler recognized yet another dimension

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[10] Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey, 3rd ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1913); Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages*, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner, The Pelican History of Art (London: Penguin Books, 1954); Eric Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: British Museum, 1932); Meyer Schapiro, "Marginal Images and Drôlerie," in *Late Antique, Early Christian and Medieval Art: Selected Papers* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1979), 196–98, previously published as "Marginal Images and Drôlerie," in Speculum 45, no. 4 (1970): 684-686.
[11] Lilian M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
[12] Lucy Freeman Sandler, "The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Lilian M.C. Randall 54 (1996): 87–99.
[13] Sandler, 97.

of the interplay between word and image, a type of interaction that is predicated on context. Sandler's article also show the extent to which Carruthers's work on memory in medieval culture had become critically important for the interpretation of medieval marginalia.

Yet the most wide-ranging socio-historical study of marginal art, which was undertaken by Michael Camille, seems to ignore context in large part. Despite this, Camille's *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* is still one of the most popular works devoted exclusively to marginal art, cited by nearly every scholar writing on the subject.[14] Camille assumes that the marginal as a medieval concept represented a liminal "other" that stood in opposition to, but could never supplant, the mainstream "center."[15] This assumption revives postmodernist Mikhail Bahktin's dichotomy of the official life vs. the life of the carnival and the concept of the world upside down, *le monde renversé*.[16] According to Camille, though the marginal images often on the surface appear to subvert the values of the prevailing hegemony by exhibiting a freedom from convention, they in fact legitimate the status quo that they seem to undermine. Camille interprets manuscript marginalia as pictorial glosses on the text, as evidence of competition between scribe and illuminator, as reaction against the rigid hierarchy of the Middle Ages, as social commentary, as wordplay, and as sites of self-referentiality. He is at pains to emphasize that the grotesque, ribald, and scatological images seen in the margins of medieval manuscripts, even manuscripts with religious themes, would not have been interpreted in the Middle Ages in the same way that our prudish modern society would interpret them.[17]

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[14] Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

[15] The theme of center vs. margin also plays out in his later work, for example Michael Camille, "Play, Piety, and Perversity in Medieval Marginal Manuscript Illumination," in *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht : Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Litterae (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1994), 171–92.

[16] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1968).

[17] For two examples of the analysis of scatological imagery in medieval marginalia, see Paul Gehl, "Texts and Textures: Dirty Pictures and Other Things in Medieval Manuscripts," *Corona* 3 (1983): 68–77; Karl

Further, these images must not be seen as meaningless doodles that signify only the fancy of the artist who created them (as Meyer Schapiro once asserted[18]). Marginalia were pregnant with meaning. So, for example, consider the multi-layered meaning of a common thirteenth-century motif of arrows aimed at the posteriors of nude or semi-nude figures. According to Camille, rather than interpreting this trope in sexual terms or as the imaginative concoction of a deranged illuminator (as Eric Millar believed[19]), a medieval reader/viewer would have seen a condemnation of sin (as did Lilian Randall[20]), deprecation of the unchivalrous medieval archer, or even in some contexts as a marker for the text (as Carruthers might claim).[21]

Though the reception of Camille's book was generally positive (and remains so, judging by how often he is cited), *Image on the Edge* has not been loved by all. Jeffrey Hamburger penned an unusually long review of the book for *The Art Bulletin* (June 1993).[22] Hamburger's nine-page double column review was not favorable. The following statement sums up Hamburger's evaluation of Camille's work:

> No matter how legitimate his challenge to conventional patterns of thought, the picture that Camille paints, like the creatures he apes, itself is a caricature. Camille's study is an engaging, yet irritating essay, full of enormous intellectual energy, but showing every sign of having been written too hastily. In part, the author intends to aggravate: like the simian creatures that populate the periphery

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Wentersdorf, "The Symbolic Significance of Figurae Scatalogicae in Gothic Manuscripts," in *Word, Picture, and Spectacle*, ed. Clifford Davidson, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 5 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1984), 1–19.

[18] Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1977), 1–2, previously published as "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. K. Bharatha Iyer (London: Luzac, 1947), 130-150.

[19] See note 10 above.

[20] Lilian M.C. Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 97–107.

[21] Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 106.

[22] Jeffrey Hamburger, "Review of Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art by Michael Camille," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993): 319–27.

> of medieval art, he is deliberately irreverent and parodic, placing himself, sometimes rather precariously, beyond conventional historical norms. What we are left with is an essay that, like the imagery it describes, raises issues of central importance, yet also hovers at the edges of its topic.[23]

Indeed, in my view Camille's *Image on the Edge* lacks a convincing argument and his sweeping generalizations fail to take into account the specific contexts of the images that he examines, particularly as they pertain to manuscript marginalia. He also ignores, or simply does not take seriously, the devotional and religious purpose of the works of art that he evaluates, which occludes an essential part of the identity of these objects and therefore obfuscates the meaning they held for medieval users/readers/viewers. Camille does not view the margins as part of the overall visual and textual program of manuscripts, and by failing to do so he relegates marginalia to a subsidiary status from which it can only function to comment on or play off of the textual and pictorial "center." In these respects Camille fails to participate in the context-focused trend exemplified by the work of Lucy Sandler and carried on by subsequent scholars.

However, scholars have not abandoned careful attention to context. In the past twenty-five years or so, the trend in scholarship seems to be towards integration of the marginal into the overall context of manuscript culture. The monograph-length works published on individual manuscripts during this time, such as Anne Rudloff Stanton's *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience*, incorporate marginalia into the larger discussion and are a mark of the degree to which the marginal has been recognized as important to all scholarship on manuscripts, not solely those that focus on manuscript margins.[24] In one sense, then, the margins have become less marginal. Recent scholarship

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[23] Hamburger, 319.

[24] Anne Rudloff Stanton, *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001). Coincidentally, Stanton's work on the Queen Mary Psalter was first done in the form of a dissertation for the Department of Art History at UT-Austin.

also emphasizes the need to reimagine the margin conceptually by thinking of the margins as the primary zone of interaction between the reader/viewer and the manuscript. Kathryn Smith poses the question best: "But how is our understanding of margins altered if we apprehend medieval artifacts from the margins inward, if we begin our readings of objects at their edges rather than the center, and if we conceive the margins as the critical site of the medieval viewer's encounter with the work as a whole?"[25] Along the same lines, Jonathan J.G. Alexander inquired: "Suppose rather than 'marginal' we describe it as 'framing'? Does the image not then assume a different importance and a different role, a dynamic interaction of meanings, both secular and religious, on different levels for a variety of viewers?"[26] These are, indeed, the questions that scholars of the margins need to ask of their scholarship. In what follows, I have attempted to model my mental paradigm on these precepts, to think, as Sandler puts it, in terms of a "visual system" rather than a dichotomy of margin vs. center. By so doing I have, I hope, produced an analysis of marginal hybrids and grotesques that is both integrative and holistic and goes at least some way to reframing our discussion of what the concept of "marginal" means in the context of the history of medieval art.

THE MACCLESFIELD PSALTER MARGINALIA: THE STATE OF THE QUESTION

It is appropriate before continuing to take a moment to review in some detail the few published scholarly opinions on the marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter. Two scholars have directly addressed the issue of marginalia in the Psalter, though both studies have admittedly been cursory: Stella Panayotova in her book *The Macclesfield Psalter*,[27]

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[25] Kathryn Smith, "Margin," *Studies in Iconography* Special Issue: Medieval Art History Today-- Critical Terms 33 (2012): 33.
[26] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art," *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 4–5.
[27] See note 2 above.

and Lucy Sandler in her essay "In and Around the Text: The Question of Marginality in the Macclesfield Psalter."[28] Both scholars take a multi-faceted approach to the evaluation of the marginal images that includes considerations not just of a formal or iconographic nature but that also takes into account the social, political, and intellectual climate in England during the early fourteenth century. In other words, both studies participate in the contextual trend noted in the literature review above.

In her essay, Sandler provides an overview of the ways in which the marginalia in the Macclesfield Psalter can be interpreted in connection with current trends in the study of marginalia in medieval manuscripts. Sandler employs three methodological paradigms: the marginal as liminal and representative of "otherness" (reminiscent of Michael Camille); the interaction between the marginal periphery and the textual center; and the societal meaning of marginal decoration. Further, she considers the importance of the artist's role in the creation of marginal imagery in the Macclesfield Psalter and agrees with Meyer Schapiro that marginalia give us "'convincing evidence of the artist's liberty, his unconstrained possession of the space, which confounds the view of medieval art as the model of systematic order and piety.'"[29] This point in part ignores the possibility that the seemingly scandalous, objectionable, or satirical images in the margins of the Macclesfield Psalter may have had a purpose or purposes that lay squarely within the bounds of the *status quo*. Sandler also considers briefly the way in which the confluence of marginal and central through the use of borders blurs the line between marginality and centrality, and

[28] Lucy Freeman Sandler, "In and Around the Text: The Question of Marginality in the Macclesfield Psalter," in *The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2007), 105–14.
[29] Sandler, 107. Sandler is citing Meyer Schapiro, "On Aesthetic Attitudes in Romanesque Art," in *Romanesque Art* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1977), 97-98.

she concludes that the marginal illustrations were as important as the text and the main images in guiding the medieval reader's use of the text.

Panayotova, Keeper of Manuscripts and Printed Books at the Fitzwilliam Museum and author of the only monograph on the Macclesfield Psalter, is the other scholar who directly addressed the issue of the marginalia in the manuscript. One of the functions of marginalia identified by Panayotova is that of mnemonic tools.[30] In this area, Panayotova is indebted to the pioneering work of Mary Carruthers. Panayotova touches on, but does not intensively explore, the role of mnemotechnique in the functioning of marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter. Marginal items such as the figural *nota bene* markers and word-images call attention to portions of the text without seeming to comment on the meaning or significance of the text as a whole, asserts Panayotova.[31] These "bookmarks," which often take the form of hybrid figures, aid the reader in remembering the text they point to by virtue of their fantastic appearance. This assertion is consistent with the role that Carruthers identified for marginal hybrids in *The Book of Memory*. Indeed, the role of marginal hybrids in mnemotechnique is crucial part of how they functioned for the psalter's reader. However, as I will show, the mnemotechnical dimension of marginal hybrids was not the most important aspect of their devotional utility. Further, says Panayotova, these images

> bring us closer to the text, which is analysed and dissected by the imagery, and thus internalized and remembered. The effort and the pleasure of recognition create memorable visual-verbal amalgams. Such 'word-images' intensify the reader's experience by inviting a slow, careful examination of the text and reflection on its structural units.[32]

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[30] Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter*, 67-70.
[31] Panayotova, *The Macclesfield Psalter*, 63.
[32] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 63.

While this statement is true, it does not convey the whole picture. In my view, Panayotova does not go far enough into her exploration of the relationship between the marginal hybrids and medieval mnemotechnic and meditative reading practice (i.e. *lectio divina*) to discover what I assert is the ultimate purpose of these figures as sites of ethical cultivation. Her analysis is predicated on finding concrete and singular text-image relationships, but she ignores the possibility that marginal hybrids and grotesques were not necessarily intended to have one discrete meaning or relationship to the text, nor did they need one, in order to be tools in meditative reading or memory work.[33] Further, Panayotova does not place the Psalter as a devotional book at the center of her analysis. I argue that such centering is essential. The purpose of the psalter as a devotional book and the attendant educative and meditative purpose for which it was undoubtedly intended must be placed at the center of any investigation of the manuscript's marginal images, particularly given the circumstances of the Macclesfield Psalter's creation (which will be discussed further below). In this paper, I intend to build on Panayotova's foundational study to address the issues noted above, and by so doing offer a new perspective on marginal hybrids that illuminates their integral role in the intended devotional use of the Macclesfield Psalter and, by extension, other similarly decorated devotional books.

[33] To cite a few examples of the many times that Carruthers reiterates this point in her books: Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 297; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 18, 21, 45.

Chapter 1

The Manuscript, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 1-2005

The Macclesfield Psalter is a deluxe English Gothic psalter that was produced in East Anglia in the 1330s. It was discovered in the library of the earls of Macclesfield at Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, in 2004, and has been called "the most important discovery of any English manuscript in living memory."[34] It was put up for auction by Sotheby's in that same year and originally purchased by the Getty Museum. The psalter was refused an export license by the UK's Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art, and in response the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge raised £1.7 million to purchase the manuscript. It is now part of their permanent collection.[35]

While we do not know with certainty for whom the Macclesfield Psalter was originally created, we do have concrete information regarding the manuscript's later provenance. By the fifteenth century, the psalter was in the possession of a nun, one Barbara Booke (or Boke). Since the Macclesfield Psalter retains the images of saints and references to Catholicism, we can conclude that it remained in Catholic hands during the English Reformation under Henry VIII. The manuscript was owned by Anthony Watson during his time as Bishop of Chichester (1596-1605). His name appears on folio 1r above the image of St. Edmund. Sometime in the seventeenth century the psalter belonged to John Smeaton, the last owner to sign his name in the manuscript (on folio 1r). The *terminus ante quem* for the Psalter's acquisition by the earls of Macclesfield is 1860, as evidenced by the bookplate and pressmark added in that year. It remained in their collection, at some

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[34] "The Macclesfield Psalter, in Latin, Illuminated Manuscript on Vellum," Sotheby's, accessed July 5, 2018, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2004/the-library-of-the-earls-of-macclesfield-removed-from-shirburn-castle-part-3-western-manuscripts-l04242/lot.587.html.
[35] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 11.

point coming to the library at Shirburn Castle where it stayed tucked away on a high shelf until its "discovery" in 2004.[36]

CODICOLOGY[37]

The Macclesfield Psalter comprises 252 folios and measures 170x108 millimeters (approximately 6.7x4.3 inches). The manuscript is, therefore, quite small, a fact that will be explored in relation to the marginal images later in this paper. The main body of the text is ruled in brown ink for 16 lines per page. The calendar is ruled in red to accommodate 32 lines per page. The manuscript, which was executed by a single scribe,[38] is written in Latin in Gothic textualis quadrata (based on the consistent application of feet to the minims), a script of high grade and very good quality.[39] The quality and execution of the script contribute to the luxury status of this manuscript. Also a contributing factor is the fineness of the support, which high quality parchment most likely from calfskin. Thirty-one of thirty-two quires were originally quaternions; the first gathering was a quinion. This is a common gathering structure in deluxe English Gothic manuscripts, including the Stowe Breviary, the Gorleston Psalter, the Douai Psalter, and the St. Omer Psalter.[40] At the time that the manuscript was purchased by the Fitzwilliam Museum, the binding was an early eighteenth century one of calfskin over pasteboards. It was resewn and rebound by the conservator of the Fitzwilliam, Robert Proctor, in 2006-07 in quarter-sawn oak covered with a chemise of alum-tawed goatskin.[41]

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[36] Panayotova, 49–50.
[37] Codicological details, including schematics of the gathering structure, can be found in Appendix 1 of *The Macclesfield Psalter*.
[38] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 31.
[39] Michelle P. Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 84.
[40] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 30.
[41] Panayotova, 335–36.

The manuscript has been modified by multiple rebindings and excisions during its lifetime. The spine has been chopped, reducing numerous bifolia to single leaves that were then glued together in the course of a later binding. The other margins have been drastically trimmed, as well, resulting in the loss of portions of marginal figures at the head and foreedge of the manuscript. Pieces have been excised from several folia, including portions of the border adjacent to the Beatus initial (Psalm 1) on folio 9r, the border on folio 58r at the opening of Psalm 38, and the opening initial of the confession prayer (246r). It has been suggested that the removed portions contained armorial devices of the original owner.[42] There are also six leaves missing from the manuscript: two after folio 1, which probably contained framed images comparable to those of SS. Edmund and Andrew on folios 1r and 1v; one after folio 95 (Psalm 68:1-9, which would have contained a historiated initial at the opening of Psalm 68); one after folio 117 (Psalms 79:14-80:5, which would have had a historiated initial at the opening of Psalm 80); one after folio 141 (Psalms 100:3-101:5, with a historiated initial at Psalm 101); and one after folio 252 that was likely blank.

THE TEXTS

In general, the Macclesfield Psalter contains the texts characteristic of a psalter of this period. It opens with a calendar (Use of Sarum; fols. 2r-7v), followed by the prayer beginning "Suscipere dignare" (fol. 8r-8v). While not a common prayer in medieval psalters, it is found in some deluxe psalters from East Anglia and the Fenlands made for monastic and clerical patrons, including the Douai and Gorleston Psalters, two of the Macclesfield Psalter's closest antecedents.[43] The "Suscipere dignare" prayer is followed by the Gallican Psalter, running from folio 9r to folio 207v. Following the Psalms are the

[42] Panayotova, 44. One, hidden in the border of folio 37v, escaped the knife.
[43] Panayotova, 38.

Canticles, hymns or songs of praise taken from biblical text other than the Psalms (fols. 207v-227r). The Macclesfield Psalter contains the ten canticles found in most late medieval psalters, along with the *Te Deum* hymn, which was one of the most popular hymns of the Catholic Church, and the Athanasian Creed. Next is the litany with collects (fols. 227v-235r), which is essentially a series of invocations to the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, the archangels, and a long list of saints arranged in hierarchical groups. After the litany is the Office of the Dead with prayers for the dead after Vespers and Lauds (fols. 235v-246r). The Office of the Dead was a key feature of Gothic psalters and later became a central text in Books of Hours. The Macclesfield Psalter closes with the Confession prayer "Confiteor tibi Domine" and three prayers to Christ (fols. 246r-252r).

VISUAL PROGRAM

It is commonly accepted that the decoration of any medieval manuscript is intimately related to the hierarchy of the text. Thus, sections that were considered more important or to which attention was to be drawn were given more elaborate decoration than other, less important sections. Manuscripts often opened with a frontispiece that set the tone for the work. The Macclesfield Psalter opens with two full-page miniatures, the first is an image of St. Edmund of Bury holding an arrow on folio 1r and the second, following on folio 1v, is an image of St. Andrew holding a book and a saltire cross. The large framed miniature of Christ as Judge on the verso of the folio containing the "Suscipere dignare" prayer (fols. 8r-v) turns the reader's/viewer's thoughts to the eternal salvation for which he has just asked in the prefatory prayer.[44]

[44] Panayotova, 52; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 174. Carruthers notes that the precepts of meditative memory work required "entry to a 'place' of meditative silence which was thought essential for invention." This, I believe, may be the function of the image of Christ in the Macclesfield Psalter. Coupled with the prefatory devotional prayer, this image may have been a tool by which the reader would enter into the proper mindset for *meditatio* by invoking the fear of the Last Judgement that is literally depicted in the

The hierarchy of the texts in the Macclesfield Psalter is made manifest, in part, through the use of historiated initials. Seven appear at the opening of Psalms of the ten-fold division. Psalm 1 (folio 9r) has a nine-line initial ("B") depicting the Tree of Jesse. Psalm 26 (folio 39r) has an eight-line historiated initial ("D") portraying the Anointing of David. At the opening of Psalm 38 (folio 58r), there is an eight-line historiated initial ("D") containing a scene of Saul ordering the killing of the priest of Nob. On folio 76r, the opening "Q" of Psalm 51 is a six-line historiated initial depicting Doeg killing the priest of Nob. Psalm 52 (folio 77r), shows an eight-line historiated "D" within which is contained a scene of King David and fool. Psalm 97 (folio 139v) has an eight-line historiated initial ("C") of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Folio 161v contains the opening of Psalm 109, an eight-line historiated initial "D" containing God the Father and God the Son. The final psalm initial appears on folio 182v at the opening of Psalm 119 (the first Gradual Psalm). It depicts a six-line letter "A," partially constituted by a hybrid bird emerging from the foliage border and containing a scene of King David kneeling in prayer before God, who is pictured emerging from the heavens above with a gesture of blessing. It has been suggested that there would also have been historiated initials on the missing leaves that contained the openings of Psalms 68, 80, and 101.[45] The eighth historiated initial (six lines) opens the Canticle of Isaiah, the first of the canticles in the Macclesfield Psalter, on folio 207v, and depicts Isaiah seated and praying to God whose hand emerges from the heavens in a gesture of blessing. The final two historiated initials appear in the Office of the Dead: one at Matins (a seven-line initial "D" containing an image of a coffin surrounded by candles) and one at Vespers (an eight-line "P" containing an image of a skeleton piercing the chest of a dying man with a spear).

Christological image. This would have been the appropriate mindset with which to approach the reading of the Psalms.

[45] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 52.

The historiated initials in the Macclesfield Psalter corresponds, for the most part, to a distinctly English program of historiated initials placed at the psalms of the tenfold division that began to emerge around the year 1200 in the environs of Oxford and Winchester.[46] This program differed from the more literal tradition that flourished in France in that it "combined close attention to the biblical text with a tendency to extend its literal meaning through reading and interpretation into biblical commentaries, dogmatic theology, liturgical practices and devotional needs."[47] Thus, for example, in the French program the opening of Psalm 97 ("Sing a new song to the Lord") would be accompanied by an image of clerics singing. In the English program, this psalm was illustrated with the Annunciation to the Shepherds based on the tradition of viewing this psalm as a prophecy of the Incarnation.[48] This distinctively English take on psalm illustration was, for the most part, supplanted in England by the traditional French program by the fourteenth century.[49]

The Macclesfield Psalter, along with several contemporary manuscripts, shows a preference for the customary English program of the thirteenth century.[50] However, the iconography differs from the standard English program at several points. The first instance occurs at Psalm 38. Here, the Macclesfield Psalter shows Saul ordering the murder of Achimelech and the priests of Nob. The standard English program normally calls for this psalm to be illustrated with the Judgement of Solomon. The historiated initial opening Psalm 52 ("Dixit insipiens") in the English program should show the Devil in a

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[46] Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1190-1250*, vol. 1, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1982), 72–79. For a comparison of the standard English program to the program in the Macclesfield Psalter see Appendices at the end of this paper.

[47] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 59.

[48] Panayotova, 60.

[49] Panayotova, 60.

[50] The only other contemporary English manuscripts that show a preference for the English program are the Gorleston, Ormesby, and Douai Psalters. The relationship of these manuscripts to the Macclesfield Psalter will be discussed in greater detail below.

representation of the Temptation of Christ. In the Macclesfield Psalter, this initial shows King David and the fool who denies God's existence, a scene that one would normally find in the literal French program. The historiated initials that would have introduced Psalms 68, 80, and 101, which are lost, may have shown the traditional English subjects of Jonah and whale, Jacob and the angel, and the personification of Ecclesia, respectively.[51]

We also find ornamental initials of various forms and colors demarcating verses in the psalms, canticles, and litany. One example, from the opening of Psalm 12, shows the letter "U" inhabited by the human head of a hybrid that intrudes into the interior of the letter from the border (see Figure 2). In addition to these ornamental, sometimes inhabited, initials at the beginning of each psalm, each verse of every psalm, canticle, and the litany begins with a one-line gold initial on a blue and pink background. The manuscript also features rectangular line-fillers that occupy the empty space where the text does not stretch to the end of the line. These line-fillers are decorated with geometric or foliate motifs, animals or human figures, leopards' heads, tiny hybrids, or swags of fabric. A final important aspect of the decorative program are the foliate borders that appear on each and every page (excepting folios1r, 1v, and 252r). The unrestrained energy of these borders in comparison with contemporary East Anglian productions is one of the distinguishing features of the Macclesfield Psalter.[52] These borders often serve as support for various figures, human, animal, and hybrid (see Figure 3).

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[51] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 61. These are the subjects of the historiated initials at these psalms in the closest relatives of the Macclesfield Psalter, the Gorleston, Ormesby, and Douai Psalters.
[52] Panayotova, 53.

Types of Marginalia in the Macclesfield Psalter

The Macclesfield Psalter is most notable for what Stella Panayotova aptly terms the "omnivorous marginalia."[53] These take the form of a variety of hybrids of various constructions,[54] grotesque and scatological images, human and animal figures engaged with the text or marginal vegetation, human heads in roundels or initials, and *bas-de-page* scenes. Most of the marginalia interact with the border in some way: growing into or out of it; standing on, pulling, biting, or climbing it; or, in the case of the *bas-de-page* scenes, employing is as a ground line. While most of the marginal figures use or are part of the border, there are a few figures that float free of the entangling vines, such as the hybrid in the upper right corner of folio 42r (see Figure 4). Nearly every page is home to one or more marginal figures.

Examination of the Macclesfield Psalter reveals that the marginalia lend themselves to a loose categorization. These categories include *bas-de-page* scenes; morphologically accurate figures of humans and animals; hybrids; and grotesque and scatological images. One category is *bas-de-page* scenes, groups of figures that appear at the bottom of the page that are meant to be read together as a narrative. The first category is *bas-de-page* scenes, groups of figures that appear at the bottom of the page that are meant to be read together as a narrative. These include scenes with anywhere from two to six figures. The figures, in turn, are some combination of animals, humans, anthropomorphic animals, hybrids, grotesques, or mythical figure. Typical examples of *bas-de-page* scenes in the Macclesfield Psalter are shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6. Some of the *bas-de-page* scenes encompass action that takes place overleaf, such as the example in Figure 7.

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[53] Panayotova, 63.

[54] For a detailed analysis of the different constructions of marginal hybrids see Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Reflection on the Construction of Hybrids in English Gothic Marginal Illustration," in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. Lucy Freeman Sandler and Moshe Barasch (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1981), 51–65.

The second category of marginalia of the Macclesfield Psalter comprises morphologically accurate figures of humans and animals that are not part of the *bas-de-page* scenes. Birds, which have a long history of association with memory, and human figures interacting with the foliate border are common motifs in this category.[55]

The third category of marginal images encompasses hybrids. As mentioned above, these are the composite figures made up of human, animal, vegetal, and monstrous components. There are a total of 464 hybrid figures in the Macclesfield Psalter. One of the more spectacular and complex examples is shown in Figure 8. Hybrids may exist singly or in groups, the latter of which occasionally includes figures that seem to be interacting with each other (as, for example, in Figure 9). A sub-category of hybrids consists of what I have termed vine-hybrids. These are morphologically correct animals or humans (or human or animal heads) that grow into or out of the foliage of the vines (note that the human vine-hybrid in Figure 10 is in all respects anatomically normal except for the fact that the vine of the foliate border is growing out of the figure's head). Minuscule hybrids even appear in the line endings, as shown in Figure 11. In the Macclesfield Psalter, hybrids both frame the text and inhabit it.

The final category of marginalia consists of grotesques and scatological images and scenes. There are no more than a handful of this type of image, but they are most certainly memorable, not least because a number of them have been effaced by partial erasure enacted by a later owner. Figure 12 shows an example of a partially defaced scatological scene, while Figure 13 is an example of a grotesque marginal figure. For the purposes of this paper, the term grotesque will refer to human figures that are recognizably human but distorted in some way (though not made up of multiple components, as hybrids).

[55] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 41–42.

Inevitably, not every marginal figure or group of figures falls neatly into these categories. But classifying the marginalia in this way is useful in establishing a vocabulary and a heuristic scheme, thereby enabling us more easily to think about and to analyze the marginalia as a whole.

This study will focus on the primarily on the marginal hybrids. Because these figures were part of the overall visual program of the Macclesfield Psalter, they will not be considered in isolation. As such, this paper will include discussion of other types of marginal images when appropriate and when commensurate with the scope of this project.

DATE AND PROVENANCE

Internal evidence intimates that the Macclesfield Psalter was created in the early fourteenth century. The calendar on folios 2r to 7v conforms to the Use of Sarum, the liturgical practices and text associated with Salisbury cathedral. The Sarum calendar was adopted by most dioceses in the Province of Canterbury beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century or soon thereafter, and by 1350 all diocese in the Province of Canterbury, except Hereford, had implemented Sarum Use either totally or in part.[56] This would suggest a *terminus post quem* of the second half of the thirteenth century for the creation of the Psalter. Further, it suggests that the Macclesfield Psalter may have been created in the Province of Canterbury, which covered most of the southern part of England. The opening prayer, "Suscipere dignare," also suggests an early fourteenth-century date and an East Anglian origin for the Macclesfield Psalter. This relatively uncommon prayer is found

[56] Nigel Morgan, "The Introduction of the Sarum Calendar into the Diocese of England in the Thirteenth Century," in *Thirteenth Century England VIII*, ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, and Robin Frame, Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2001), 183, 186.

in the Douai and Gorleston Psalters, two East Anglian manuscripts from the early fourteenth century that share compelling stylistic links with the Macclesfield Psalter.[57]

Stylistic evidence provides further clues to the execution date and provenance of the Macclesfield Psalter. There are strong similarities between the style (and even some individual motifs) of the Macclesfield Psalter and several extant East Anglian manuscripts associated with Norwich: the Gorleston Psalter (c. 1310-20), the Stowe Breviary (1322-25), and the Ormesby Psalter (second campaign 1320s; third campaign 1330s). The visual similarities are so strong that one need only look at these manuscripts to see that they are related stylistically. These robust stylistic links suggest that the psalter was made in East Anglia sometime in the first few decades of the fourteenth century.[58] The specific experimental features of the illumination, such as the incorporation of Trecento Italianate styles, place its creation more specifically during a distinctive phase in East Anglian illumination that occurred in the 1330s.[59] Further, we know that during the 1320s and the 1330s illuminators who had been influenced by the English court style were in East Anglia, and some of the features of this style, such as the delicacy and sweet faces of some of the figures, can be seen in the Macclesfield Psalter.[60] Based on these stylistic features, Panayotova has dated the Psalter to between 1334 and 1336, and Lynda Dennison puts it in the period between 1335 and 1340.[61] Thus, we can say with confidence that the Macclesfield Psalter was created in East Anglia in the 1330s.

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[57] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 38.
[58] Panayotova, 20–21.
[59] Panayotova, 28.
[60] Panayotova, 28.
[61] Lynda Dennison, "The Technical Mastery of the Macclesfield Psalter: A Preliminary Stylistic Appraisal of the Illuminators and Their Suggested Origin," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 13, no. 3 (2006): 253–88.

Both Panayotova and Dennison localize the manuscript to Norwich. However, as scholar M.A. Michael points out, the Macclesfield Psalter may have found its physical form in Norwich, but it is

> the artistic product of a centre such as Cambridge where ideas, such as those of St Thomas Aquinas concerning the nature of God and how reality reflected an absolute ontological proof of his presence, were actively discussed; where a vibrant oral literary tradition existed in conjunction with scholarship; where artists could exchange ideas and monumental artistic projects were known and admired; where books from Italy and France were regularly exchanged by people who did not necessarily belong to the aristocratic elite that bought beautiful books, but may have produced them for their consumption.[62]

The Macclesfield Psalter was more than just a prayer book for a wealthy patron. It was the reflection of a vibrant intellectual and artistic tradition that was cosmopolitan and progressive and, incidentally, steeped in the Dominican tradition of a center like Cambridge, which had been a *studium generale* of the Dominican Order from about 1250 and whose Dominican house was "second only to the Oxford house in the system of Dominican education" in England.[63]

THE ARTIST(S) AND PATRON

Based on an examination of the style of images in the Macclesfield Psalter, Dennison has suggested that the main hand responsible for the decorative program of the Gorleston Psalter can be identified as the Macclesfield Master (whom she identifies as the first hand, and who painted the two full-page miniatures, the historiated initial of Psalm 26, and some of the borders to the minor psalms), and the Douai Assistant (who worked

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[62] M.A. Michael, "Seeing-in: The Macclesfield Psalter," in *The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2006), 119.

[63] Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools: From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 263; L.F. Salzman, ed., "Friaries: Dominicans, Cambridge," in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, vol. 2 (London: Victoria County History, 1948), 269–76, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol2/pp269-276.

alongside the Douai Master on the Douai Psalter) can be identified as the Macclesfield Psalter second hand (and was responsible for all of the historiated psalm initials except Psalm 26, some of the minor psalm initials, borders, and the half-page miniature of Christ in Majesty).[64] Though there is not a consensus in the scholarship regarding attributions, it is clear that there were two main hands responsible for the execution of the visual program of the Psalter and that both of these artists worked on other manuscripts produced in East Anglia.[65]

The artists of the Macclesfield Psalter were participants in a vibrant, dynamic, and cosmopolitan manuscript culture. While these artists were part of what has been dubbed the East Anglian school of illumination, they were clearly influenced both by other English illumination and artistic traditions from the Continent.[66] There are overarching characteristics that are common to all manuscript illumination in fourteenth-century England.

> Most important seems to be a consistent taste for the heterogeneous as opposed to the homogenous, the multiple as opposed to the unified – resulting in surprising and often anachronistic juxtapositions of linear and plastic, two- and three-dimensional, multi-centered or multi-focused rather than hierarchical and centralized compositional organization; and interaction or interpretation of the pictorial elements with the picture (or initial) frame rather than clear separation of picture and frame. These characteristics recur throughout the 14th century. They are found in the company of another group of features – a strong sense of visual humour, a taste for the grotesque, even the ugly and brutal, for detailed pictorial narrative, for depiction of the particularities of nature, often made more piquant or dramatic by juxtaposition or intermingling with representations of stylized, non-natural fantasies and hybrids.[67]

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[64] Dennison, "Technical Mastery." When speaking of "hands" in this section, we are considering only the artists who painted the manuscript, not the scribe who wrote the text. During this period, these two tasks were typically discrete and executed separately by two different professionals. So, while a single hand is responsible for the writing of the text, there are multiple hands involved in the illumination.

[65] For another opinion on attributions see Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, chap. 5.

[66] See Panayotova, chap. 1.

[67] Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 5:16.

These features unify the various schools of English manuscript illumination and characterize the English style as integrative, eclectic, intellectual, and emotional. These qualities will be important to keep in mind during the discussion of the role of hybrid figures in mnemotechnic and meditation later in this paper.

To these widely accepted views on the nature of English manuscript culture I would add a corollary. The patron, as the person who commissioned the Macclesfield Psalter, participated in this intellectual tradition in much the same way that the artists and scribe did. Panayotova presents convincing evidence that the Psalter was created for a young upper-class man, perhaps in minor orders or just beginning his clerical career, under the auspices of his Dominican confessor.[68] Given the role of the Dominican Order in the intellectual life of medieval Europe, one can readily imagine that this friar played a substantial role in the development of the illustrative program with a mind to instructing his young charge in the theological and practical aspects of Church practice and doctrine that he would need to know in order to fulfill his vocation. Indeed, it was not unheard of for Dominican friars to be involved in the design of entire visual programs to aid in teaching, as they were in the case of the Holkham Bible Picture Book of about 1320-30.[69] Thus, one should not be surprised that, as will be shown, the visual program of the Macclesfield Psalter is highly intellectual and that the seemingly nonsensical marginal hybrids in fact functioned as an integral part of a tradition of memory and meditative reading.

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[68] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 44–49.

[69] Claus Michael Kauffmann, "Art and Popular Culture: New Themes in the Holkham Bible Picture Book," in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture Presented to Peter Lasko*, ed. David Buckton and T.A. Heslop (Dover, NH: Alan Sutton Publishing Inc., 1994), 46–69.

PLACING THE MACCLESFIELD PSALTER IN THE ENGLISH GOTHIC MANUSCRIPT TRADITION[70]

As the foregoing indicates, the Macclesfield Psalter was part of a complex and intricate web of associations, to adapt a phrase from Panayotova.[71] I have chosen not to go into great detail here because these relationships have been sufficiently addressed in the existing literature and many of these above-mentioned areas regarding the manuscripts history and creation have little bearing on my argument or will be discussed further below. One should note, however, that the Macclesfield Psalter was a part of a significant, dynamic, and distinctly English tradition of manuscript illumination, and that the Macclesfield Psalter represents "a link between a large number of East Anglian manuscripts spanning the period from c. 1310 to c. 1340."[72] As such, results of an examination of the Macclesfield Psalter have a wider applicability. Because the Psalter was a key part of a manuscript culture that encompassed not just English but Continental traditions as well, conclusions based an evaluation of the Macclesfield Psalter can validly be extended to its immediate contemporaries, successors, and antecedents, such as the Douai and Gorleston Psalters, if not beyond. Examining the meaning and function of the marginal hybrids and grotesques found in the Macclesfield Psalter, therefore, will bring us closer to an understanding of the role of such images in devotional manuscripts of late medieval England.

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[70] For a infographic representing the relationship of the Macclesfield Psalter to contemporary English manuscripts, see: Michael, "Seeing-in: The Macclesfield Psalter," 120.
[71] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*. Chapter 1 is entitled "A Web of Interpretations."
[72] Panayotova, 28.

Chapter 2

Level One: The Practical

Since the publication of Mary Carruthers' revolutionary work *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (1990), the field of manuscript studies has been slowly but steadily integrating her findings vis-à-vis the role of images in medieval memorial practice into scholarship. Her subsequent work, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*, which Carruthers saw as a companion to *The Book of Memory*, drew further connections between what she called monastic rhetoric, meditative reading, and the creation of images both in the mind and on the page.[73] Many of the monographs and articles published in the past few decades by manuscript scholars include at least some mention of the connection between images and mnemotechnique, relying most heavily on the precepts outlined by Carruthers in *The Book of Memory*. These studies often emphasize the very practical use of marginal images as memory markers in medieval manuscripts. In this chapter, I will build upon the work of Carruthers (and Panayotova in connection with the Macclesfield Psalter) to explicate now the marginal figures and scenes operated as memorial cues and memorization aids in the Macclesfield Psalter. I call this mnemotechnical purpose the practical level of function, and it is one that we should consider fundamental to the subsequent instrumentality of the marginal hybrids that will be expounded in the following chapters. Recall as well that these levels are not meant to be considered discrete steps on a single, unidirectional path similar to the traditional scheme of biblical exegesis.[74] Rather, they are meant to be envisioned as part of a seamless, multidirectional, intuitive process, much of which is

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[73] See note 5 above for full citations.

[74] I am thinking here of the four levels of biblical interpretation (*quadriga*): literal, anagogical, typological, and tropological.

predicated on the deep-rooted and foundational role that images played in memorization (which, incidentally, is one meaning of the term *meditatio*). If I could represent it graphically, the visual of my three-part scheme comprising the practical, spiritual, and ethical functions of marginal hybrids would look much more like a cycle or a meandering *ductus* with multiple crossings and directional changes than like a flow chart or hierarchical schema. It is important to keep this flexibility in mind because the fluidity of the three-function scheme will be part of what argues for its validity.

MEDIEVAL MNEMOTECHNIC AND THE ROLE OF IMAGES

In her works on medieval memory technique, Mary Carruthers pulls together so many strands of intellectual, cultural, religious, literary, and art history that the resulting picture is so staggeringly comprehensive that its implications at first seem almost overwhelming. And indeed they are momentous, particularly if one takes the time to tease out those facets of her argument that are most applicable to one's own discipline, as I will attempt to do in what follows.

By the period under discussion, *memoria* and and memory training already had a long history in Western culture. From the time of ancient Rome, a trained memory was highly valued as a prerequisite for participation in affairs of the Roman state. Indeed, memory training in the ancient world was taught within the subject of rhetoric. The aim was to create a well-ordered store of material in the mind to call upon in *ex tempore* speaking.[75] A "good" memory, however, was not one that could simply retain a great deal of information. Rather, a good memory was one that was well-organized and facilitated retrieval of pieces of information in any order on demand.[76] Memory (*memoria*) was a

[75] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 153.
[76] Carruthers, chap. 1.

process of investigation (*investigatio*) in which one would find stored information either through associational paths based on logical connection or habit (*consuetudo*), both of which were taught by memorial training schema such as that espoused in Cicero's *De oratore* or Quintilian's *Instituto oratorio*.[77] Rote repetition (what we might consider memorization) was not considered evidence of a good (i.e. trained) memory, as it did not require the crucial generative and investigative act of recollection (literally re-collection).

Another important point to make about ancient and medieval conceptions of *memoria* is the perceived corporeality of the memorial process. The act of remembering was considered to be a physical act in which the brain itself was changed, and memory images (*imagines*) were considered to physically occupy space. In other words, they had a definite location in the brain and could therefore be located (and re-located) in the process of recollection. The oft-used metaphor of imprinting a seal in wax is emblematic of the belief in the material quality of memory.[78] Just as the wax takes the impression of the seal, so the brain is imprinted with the images that one's senses relay to the mind. It follows that because memory images were thought to occupy real physical space in the brain, remembering was considered to be a visual process, a "kind of eye-dependent reading."[79] It is interesting to note that in Ancient Greek there was not a verb meaning "to read"; the verb they used meant "to know again" or "to recollect."[80] This idea of recollection, of the process of remembering being a re-collection of *imagines* "read" from within the mind, is significant, as it defines the relationship between images and knowledge as a direct one and makes clear that images are not simply ornament but rather tools by which information was internalized. Without images, there could be no knowledge. The idea that

[77] Carruthers, 23.
[78] Carruthers, 31.
[79] Carruthers, 31.
[80] Carruthers, 34.

remembering was a recollective and compositive process is reflected equally in the Latin word for reading, *legere*, which literally means "to bring together, gather, collect."[81] As the preceding suggests, *memoria* was not a thing but a process. And this process was by its very nature a creative one in which images were intimately and inextricably involved.

Yet another crucial point is that "[f]rom antiquity, *memoria* was fully institutionalized in education, and like all vital practices it was adapted continuously to the circumstances of history."[82] The principles of memory practice and the underlying beliefs in the importance and implication of a trained memory did not disappear when classical civilization faded away. Rather, they continued to exist as part of a cultural ideology, and although the practice of the memorial arts changed, the underlying beliefs about *memoria* itself remained. *Memoria* and the memorial arts, therefore, maintained their value, meaning, and cultural role from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Because *memoria* retained its traditional position and significance in society, the way that people's memories were structured and the way that they employed them was not so much a conscious decision as an ingrained cultural practice, just as it is today. To be sure, active memory training *did* take place in the Middle Ages in the realm of institutionalized education, as will be addressed below, but even outside of this formal environment the way that people remembered and understood memory was consistent and ideologically fundamental.

REVIVAL OF FORMALIZED MEMORY TRAINING IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Two ancient rhetorical tracts that addressed memory training were known in the Middle Ages: Cicero's *De inventione* (known as the "vetus rhetorica") and the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* (known as the "rhetorica nova").[83] The monikers "vetus rhetorica" and

[81] Carruthers, 34.
[82] Carruthers, 153.
[83] Carruthers, 154.

"rhetorica nova" refer to the order in which they were introduced in the medieval university curriculum. The *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, on which much later medieval memory training was based, was not taught in Bologna, Oxford, or Paris before the thirteenth century and thus had no direct influence on the evolution of medieval memory practice before the thirteenth century.[84] As such, the revival of Herennian mnemotechnique occurred in the context of an existing memorial tradition, one that was based on the inheritance of memorial culture from antiquity but that had been adapted and developed under a monastic aegis in which the emphasis was on meditation and prayer, not public speaking.[85] As Carruthers states: "When the Herennian architectural mnemonic…was revived in late medieval universities, it was within these well-established monastic practices. One cannot separate it out from them without seriously distorting late medieval and early modern method and understanding."[86]

The Dominican Order played an influential role in the revival of the *ars memorativa*, particularly that espoused in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, in the Middle Ages. Albertus Magnus (c. 1200-1280), a Dominican friar, was the first medieval scholar to advocate for the revival of Herennian mnemonics.[87] An important difference between Albertus's writing on memory and those from antiquity, however, is that Albertus places *memoria* within the framework of moral philosophy rather than rhetoric.[88] Thomas Aquinas, another Dominican friar, was, as Francis Yates has put it, the "patron saint" of the art of memory.[89] The influence of the ideas of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas

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[84] Carruthers, 154.
[85] Carruthers, 154.
[86] Carruthers, 154.
[87] Carruthers, 172.
[88] Carruthers, 172.
[89] Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 82.

on *memoria* continued into the fourteenth century and beyond, both within and without the Dominican Order.[90] And the making of images way a key part of it.

The mnemotechnique of the *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* employed an architectural scheme for the cultivation of "artificial memory" (*artificiosa memoria*), as the unknown Roman author calls it.[91] The building blocks of this scheme were places (*loci*) and images (*imagines*). *Loci* were the frameworks in which things to be remembered were stored. To be effective, *loci* needed to be unique but familiar places, such as houses, intercolumnar spaces, arches, or corners.[92] *Loci* should not be crowded with people or things and should not be too large or too small.[93] They should be neither too bright nor too dark, and they should be constructed in the mind as though seen from a moderate distance.[94] Since *loci* can be reused indefinitely, it is essential that a person's *loci* be carefully constructed.[95]

Into these *loci* are placed the *imagines*, simulacra or images of that which is to be remembered.[96] There are two types of images that correspond to two types of memory: memory for things (*memoria rerum*) and memory for words (*memoria verborum*). Memory for things requires a person to create an image that brings to mind the essentials of an argument, idea, or piece of information but not the exact wording. Memory for words necessitates the manufacture of *imagines* for each and every word that needs to be

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[90] Yates, 83,84.
[91] Yates, 5.
[92] As reinterpreted for a monastic audience by Albertus Magnus in *De bono*, these *loci* included *templum* (the monastery church), *hospitalis* (the monastery guest house), *pratum* (the cloister-garth), and *intercolumnia* (the portico, ambulatory, and aisles of the church and galleries of the cloister). See: Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 255.
[93] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 7.
[94] Yates, 8.
[95] Yates, 7.
[96] Yates, 6.

recalled.[97] Regarding the choice of subject matter for *imagines*, it is worth quoting the author of the *Ad Herennium* in full:

> Now nature herself teaches us what we should do. When we see in everyday life things that are pretty, ordinary, and banal, we generally fail to remember them, because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvelous. But if we see or hear something exceptionally base, dishonourable, unusual, great, unbelievable, or ridiculous, that we are likely to remember for a long time. Accordingly, things immediate to our eye or ear we commonly forget; incidents of our childhood we often remember best. Nor could this be so for any other reason than that ordinary things easily slip from the memory while the striking and the novel stay longer in the mind. A sunrise, the sun's course, a sunset are marvellous to no one because they occur daily. But solar eclipses are a source of wonder because they occur seldom, and indeed are more marvellous than lunar eclipses, because these are more frequent. Thus nature shows that she is not aroused by the common ordinary event, but is moved by a new or striking occurrence. Let art, then, imitate nature, find what she desires, and follow as she directs. For in invention nature is never last, education never first; rather the beginning of things arise from natural talent, and the ends are reached by discipline.
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> We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in memory. And we shall do so if we establish similitudes as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague but active; if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we ornament some of them, as with crowns or purple cloaks, so that the similitude may be more distinct to us; or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled with mud or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, will ensure our remembering them more readily. The things we easily remember when they are real we likewise remember without difficulty when they are figments. But this will be essential – again and again to run over rapidly in the mind all the original places in order to refresh the images.[98]

The precept that in order to be remembered *imagines* should be exceptional in their beauty, ugliness, violence, humor, or indecorousness aptly describes the character of much of the marginalia in medieval manuscripts, as Carruthers rightly notes.[99] The connection between

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[97] Yates, 8.

[98] *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, III, xxii. Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Ad C. Herennium: De ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, trans. Harry Caplan, vol. 403, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954).

[99] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 169.

the guidelines for *imagines* outlined in the *Ad Herennium* (and medieval works on memory that adopt the Herennian mnemonic scheme) and the visual character of Gothic manuscript marginalia cannot be a coincidence, particularly given the role of monks and clerics in the creation of these deluxe devotional manuscripts in their capacity as confessors to their patrons.[100] The approbation that even violent or salacious images received from men such as Albertus Magnus, who made it clear in his writing that "the criterion for creating mnemonic images is not decorum but utility,"[101] renders fallacious any suggestion that medieval viewers would have found such images inappropriate. Images were tools, and for memory the best tools were the most striking and provocative ones. Modern viewers would do well to remember this.

Imagines were meant not only to be memorable but to be personal as well. This is why, for example, the author of the *Ad Herennium* does not provide a catalog of *imagines* for his readers. He gives a few examples as models upon which the student of mnemonics is meant to base his own creations.[102] Not only this, but as it relates to manuscript marginalia, one must remember that

> [s]uch images are not iconographical, nor do they illustrate the content of a particular text. They serve the basic function of all page decoration, to make each page distinct and memorable, but their content is not only specific to the particular page on which they were drawn. One should consider them as images which serve to remind the reader of the fundamental purposes of these books – Bibles, psalters,

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[100] See, for example: Margaret M. Manion, "Art and Devotion: The Prayer-Books of Jean de Berry," in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Chur, CH: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), 177–200. Manion suggests that "Jean Pucelle…worked extremely closely with them [the Dominicans] to produce the detailed and highly organized visual programmes used to decorate and elucidate the texts destined for prayerful use in royal and noble establishments" (181). One can easily imagine, given the similar role of the Dominican Order in English society and the links between manuscript traditions in England and on the Continent, that the situation was similar in the case of the production of the Macclesfield Psalter.

[101] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 177.

[102] Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 11.

> decretal collections, prayer books – books that are made for study and meditation, to be mulled over.[103]

The lack of standardization in meaning and iconography that characterizes images created for use in mnemotechnique is the foundation of my argument in this paper. This significative flexibility also leads us to a crucial and yet somewhat frustrating fact about Gothic marginal images, namely that we cannot reconstruct exactly the way in which the reader would have used them. The meaning of the marginal images was fluid and mutable. Each reader would have formed his or her own memorial relationships with marginal images, relationships that would have changed based on his or her needs at the moment. And the nature of this relationship need not have been one of linking the image to the adjacent text, though it could certainly do that. The images in the margins were not necessarily intended to simply be memorized as a way of remembering the text. They were to serve as "examples and invitations to the further making of such images."[104] This, I believe, is where Panayotova has fallen somewhat short in her analysis of the marginal images of the Macclesfield Psalter. She seems to look for concrete and definitive relationships between the marginal images and the text, although that is not, as Carruthers argues, the way that such images would have been employed by the active reader. Perhaps some of the topical references that she unearths, for example the ploughing scene in the *bas-de-page* of folio 77r which Panayotova asserts may be reflective of contemporary attitudes towards peasants, are correct.[105] But these scenes and images need not have had such meanings or external referents in order to be useful as mnemonic tools. On the most practical level, they served to frame the text with the purpose of making it visually memorable and therefore useful as the first link in the *catena* with which the reader could

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[103] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 323.
[104] Carruthers, 335.
[105] Carruthers, 71.

memorize/internalize and then recall the text. This is why medieval writers, such as Hugh of St. Victor, recommend using the same manuscript when memorizing a text; is also the motivation behind dividing texts like the Psalms into chapters and verses (*cola et commata*), i.e. memory-sized chunks.[106]

MEDIEVAL MNEMOTECHNQIUE AND THE PRACTICAL FUNCTION OF THE MARGINAL IMAGES IN THE MACCLESFIELD PSALTER

On the most basic level and as part of the overall layout of the manuscript page, then, marginal images were meant to aid in remembering and memorizing the text. Memorization was preliminary to internalizing a text and making it one's own, a task that was intimately interwoven with the more ruminative process of meditative reading. The *mise-en-page* provided the memorial *locus*, as it were, and the intertextual and marginal images, as well as the text itself,[107] provided the *imagines* which readers could use "as-is" for memorization and recollection.

The function of marginal images as "bookmarks" is embodied in the *nota bene* markings that are often found in manuscript margins. *Nota bene* marks varied, but the *manicula*, a hand with the index finger pointing toward the text, was relatively common in the Middle Ages from the later thirteenth century onward.[108] Marginal figures could also serve as *nota bene* markers. There are a number of examples of these figural *nota bene* markers in the Macclesfield Psalter. Panayotova cites the marginal figures on folio 52r (Figure 14) and folio 66v (Figure 15), among others, as specimens of this type of *manicula*.[109] The reader could, in essence, attach the beginning of Psalm 35 to the male

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[106] Carruthers, 117; Carruthers, 121–22.
[107] As Carruthers explains, letters in actuality are simply another type of visual memorial cue whose shapes bring to mind the sounds of a word (Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 34.)
[108] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 44.
[109] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 69.

figure pointing to it (folio 52r) and the beginning of Psalm 44 to the figure of the double-ended hybrid pointing up at the text from the *bas-de-page*. Along with the rest of the elements of the *mise-en-page*, these images become "hooks" with which the reader, from memory (i.e. without the text in front of him), could "reel in" the words of Psalms 35 and 44.[110]

Marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter also may have marked the text in less literal ways. As mentioned above, the mnemotechnical principles of the *Ad Herennium* enjoined students to devise astonishing, humorous, inappropriate, violent, emotionally charged *imagines* as part of their memory training.[111] Such images would more indelibly mark the tablet of memory than images of the commonplace or banal. Many of the marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter adhere to this precept with an accuracy that's clearly intentional. The entire class of hybrid images would qualify as memorable based on this definition. Again, such images, like those that literally pointed to the text, would allow the reader to reconstruct the text page in his mind and therefore aid in memorization. It would be up to the reader to supply the connection and associate the text with the images (through logical connection or *consuetudo*), but the images were there to provide the means by which this might be accomplished.

Take, for example, the *bas-de-page* scene on folio 68r in which a man in being pursued by a giant skate, a fish then common to the waters off the coast of East Anglia (Figure 16). The image is certainly humorous and, as a result, memorable. The look of terror on the man's face and the comical way in which he falls backwards flailing, coupled

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[110] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 268.

[111] The *Ad Herennium* was not the only text to make this recommendation. John of Garland (*Parisiana poetria*, c. 1230), Thomas Bradwardine (*De memoria artificiali adquirenda*, c. 1335), and Albertus Magnus (*Liber de memoria et reminiscentia, Parva naturalia*), among others, also advocated the use of vivid and extreme images.

with the grossly exaggerated size of the skate in comparison, served to fix the image in the mind of the reader, and he would be able to recall the beginning of Psalm 45 by reconstructing the page in his mind beginning with this image. How each reader would connect the image of the man and the skate to the beginning of Psalm 45 could be as simple as the habit (*consuetudo*) of seeing the image in proximity to the text over and over again as he perused the manuscript. Or, he might create a logical connection between the scene and the text of Psalm 45. This psalm, beginning "Our God is our refuge and strength: a helper in troubles, which have found us exceedingly," deals with the theme of trials and tribulations and the power of God in the face of such difficulties. This is juxtaposed against the cowardly man fleeing from a harmless fish, and the apposition of these conceptual opposites could create a logical connection between the subject of the *bas-de-page* scene and the psalm text in the mind of the attentive reader. I am not suggesting that this is the *definitive* reading of the relationship between the man and skate *bas-de-page* scene and Psalm 45, but this interpretation represents a prototype of the way in which such logical connections might have been made by the owner of the Macclesfield Psalter.

Again, it must be stressed that the way in which each reader used the marginal images in memory work was both individual and unfixed. In medieval terms, the *similitudo* of the images remained constant but the *intentio* given to them by the reader changed as he or she made different associational connections to them and with them.[112] As such, we cannot recreate particular user scenarios with any certainty. We are at an even greater disadvantage because we lack the strong memorial culture that was characteristic of the Middle Ages, thus hampering our ability to replicate the relationship between medieval image/text and reader. However, we can understand the basic principles that governed this

[112] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 45.

relationship. The manuscript page, both image and text, were used on the practical level to aid in fixing the text in the reader's mind, and the images were associated with the surrounding text in the reader's mind through logical connection or habit, each of which was equally valid. The marginal images did not cease to function once the reader had memorized and internalized the text. This was only the first foundational phase in the reader's interaction with the text. Once memorization was achieved, marginal images began to serve a second purpose (what I have called the second level of function): as *loci* of *meditatio* in the *lectio divina*. This will be discussed further in the following chapter.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE PRACTICAL FUNCTION OF MARGINAL IMAGES IN THE MACCLESFIELD PSALTER

Before proceeding, it is important to consider the evidence that the manuscript presents to support the practical function of marginalia as outlined above. The first and most obvious piece of evidence supporting this supposition is the nature of the images themselves. The marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter conform closely to the precepts for mnemonic image creation outlined by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and perpetuated by the Dominican scholastics who revived it in the thirteenth century. The marginalia are visually remarkable in the ways necessary to make them, and their attendant text, memorable. An excellent example of the use of violence to create a memorable images is found on folio 151r (Figure 17). The *bas-de-page* scene on this folio shows a joust between a rabbit and a dog. The broken pieces of the rabbit's lance fly through the air while the lance of the dog has found its mark, piercing the rabbit's body. Blood flows from the wound as the rabbit flies backwards off his mount. The memorable brutality of the image is augmented by its inherent humor. Instead of a scene of two people jousting, the reader is presented with an image of animals acting as humans, a ludicrous reversal

epitomizing what many scholars would call the *monde renversé*.[113] There is no obvious thematic connection between the *bas-de-page* scene and the text of Psalm 105 above, which speaks of the covenant between God and Abraham. As has been demonstrated, however, such a logical connection was not required in order for the image to function mnemonically. Simple habit was considered as effective as logical connection in fixing something in the mind. We can therefore envision a situation in which a reader, connecting the image of the animal joust to Psalm 105 by habit, would be able to call up in his mind the text of the psalm by remembering the *bas-de-page* scene, which has been imprinted onto his memory by virtue of its violent and humorous nature. The results of the joust unfold in the *bas-de-page* scenes on folio 151r (the rabbit's coffin) and folio 152v (the rabbit's funeral), further reinforcing the association of this narrative with Psalm 105, which runs concurrently.

The fantastical appearance of the marginal hybrids epitomizes the precepts of memorial image creation. Their bizarre constructions are visually striking, inspiring laughter, wonder, disgust, or even fear in the viewer, all of which would serve to fix them in the mind. As such, these figures could function like hooks or links in the memorial chain. Having associated the text with the figures by means of logical connection or, more likely, habit, the reader could imprint the images on his memory and by recollecting a given image could thereby call up the associated text. The high frequency of their appearance and their relatively even distribution through the manuscript (see chart in the Appendices), with a total of 464 figures on 252 folios, provided the reader with ample pre-made *imagines*, ready-made for his use in memorizing and internalizing the texts. While it would appear that, overall, the marginal hybrids do not bear a logical connection to the contents

[113] I am thinking here particularly of: Camille, *Image on the Edge*. I hesitate to use the term *monde renversé* because of its postmodernist implications, but many, including Panayotova, employ the term.

of the text, one should not therefore conclude that the text and the marginal hybrids are unrelated. In point of fact, the relationship between the text and hybrids is fundamental. The two are inextricable. The marginal hybrids are the means by which the text is employed/deployed by the reader, the tools through which he memorized and internalized the texts. This relationship is made manifest by the way that the marginal figures interact with the foliate border. They climb on, pull, cut, chew on, or grow into and out of the vines. They ingest, manipulate, and become one with the border foliage as the reader is meant to ingest, manipulate, and become one with the text. Further, the vines form a visual and metaphorical support for the text itself, surrounding it physically while at the same time providing the environment that generates and supports the marginal figures that make a true understanding of the text possible. There is a "fluid interchange between marginal and central, border decoration and text" that begins to erode the marginal/central dichotomy.[114] Everything on the page, from the historiated initials to the forms of the letters themselves, is part of one visual system, the aim of which was to aid the reader in his devotional interaction with the text.

Marginal images not only caught the reader's attention through their visual properties, but also by means of their literal interaction with the text. The shape of the contorted figure at the bottom of folio 221r mimics the shape of the letter "y" directly above it (Figure 18).[115] This creates a visual parallel that is cemented by the fact that the figure's fingers seem to touch the descender of the letter. The figure is interacting with the text in a substantive and physical way, reminding the reader that he, too, needed to grasp the text and imprint it palpably upon his mind. The reader needed to connect to the text in the same way that the figure has done by conforming his body to the letter's shape. The monastic

[114] Sandler, "In and Around the Text," 108.
[115] Panayotova, *Macclesfield Psalter*, 63.

or clerical viewer (such as the patron's Dominican confessor) might have been reminded of the bodily positions recommended for meditative memory work.[116] While contorting one's body into the shape of a letter is not one of the suggested positions, the presence of this figure echoes these teachings; the body must be properly disposed so that the mind can be properly disposed.

This whole-body commitment is further emphasized by the 42 figures playing instruments in the margins of the Macclesfield Psalter (see, for example, Figure 20).[117] These could serve to remind the attentive reader that *memoria* (and reading) was meant to be a synaesthetic experience.[118] It was incumbent on the reader to engage all of his senses, and to endow his *imagines* with the ability to address those senses, in order to commit the text to memory and by so doing to make the text part of himself. The marginal hybrids also reflect this synaesthetic quality. Their disparate parts are integrated harmoniously in a mirror image of the total sensory experience the reader was expected to have with the text.

Numerous other examples might be cited to illustrate the way in which the marginal images in the Macclesfield Psalter functioned practically as *aides-mémoire*. Those mentioned thus far are, I believe, sufficient to demonstrate the way in which the basic principles of the *ars memorativa* manifested themselves in the visual system of the manuscript and the myriad of ways that the marginalia might have been employed by the reader in memory work, specifically the process of memorization and internalization of the

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[116] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 173–74; The relationship between the meditative gestures recommended by St. Dominic and the portrayal of these gestures in art is explored in William Hood, "Saint Dominic's Manners of Praying: Gestures in Fra Angelico's Cell Frescoes at S. Marco," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 195–206.

[117] Jeremy Montagu, "Musical Instruments in the Macclesfield Psalter," *Early Music* 34 (2006): 189–203.

[118] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 97.

text. Now, let us build on this foundation, just as our medieval reader would have done, by transitioning to the second level of function: the spiritual.

Chapter 3: The Spiritual

Memorization allowed the reader to assimilate a text by making it part of his or her memorial storehouse, to be deployed in recollection, prayer, meditation, and composition. While foundational, memorization was only one way in which the reader would have interfaced with and used a text. Another, deeper connection to a text could have been cultivated through the process of meditative reading, which was given the name *lectio divina* ("divine reading") by St. Benedict of Nursia in the sixth century.[119] Concomitantly, the function of the marginal images, particularly the hybrid figures, would morph into one in which the active reader could use such images as sources, guides, aids, and initiators – all of which are subsumed under the term *loci*, as I will be using it below – of meditation (*meditatio*).

DESCRIPTION AND HISTORY OF *LECTIO DIVINA*

The medieval monastic reading practice, *lectio divina*, epitomized the multitextured nature of medieval textual interaction. The roots of *lectio divina* lie, unsurprisingly, in the ancient world. Reading in antiquity was taught as part of a patrician man's education in preparation for public service.[120] The purpose of reading was to gather in one's mind sources and models of grammar, style, historical information, knowledge of law and politics, and verbal *decorum*.[121] As such, memorization of texts was an essential part of the process of reading. Committing exemplary texts to memory provided the statesman with ample material from which to draw not only facts and information, but also style, vocabulary, and grammar for his own compositions, both those that were pre-written and

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[119] Raymond Studzinski, *Reading to Live: The Evolving Practice of* Lectio Divina, Cistercian Studies Series 231 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 123.
[120] Duncan Robertson, Lectio Divina*: The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Cistercian Studies Series 238 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 72–73.
[121] Robertson, 73.

those performed *ex tempore*. A further point, which will be discussed in the following chapter, is that reading was thought to "contribute to character formation by providing models of behavior to imitate or to shun and by inculcating private and public moral values."[122] This is important to note, as it indicates that in antiquity reading (and the memorization of texts) had value beyond that of a simple technical skill, a quality it shared with the practice of *lectio divina* as it evolved in the following centuries. It also makes clear that the ancients conceived of reading as part of a multi-step process, the aim of which lay well beyond the simple technology of the reading act.

Lectio divina developed in the context of Roman society and also of Judaism. In the Jewish tradition, "the devout Jewish reader is to embody the Word and weave it into life so that the sacred text becomes the context for all activities."[123] Early Christians inherited this attitude to the Word from the Semitic culture into which many of them had been born. The Roman tradition of memorial culture, which the early Christians also inherited, would have supported and augmented this attitude to texts and to the construction of the self based on these texts. Even when the Church fathers rejected pagan authors such as Virgil and Ovid they retained the classical attitude toward reading and its inculcation in education. Christianity thus emerged in an environment in which reading, the word, and memory were paramount, and as a result perpetuated the holistic, pensive, and investigatory reading practices inherited from both Jewish and Roman tradition.

As a practice, *lectio divina* seems to have emerged organically, sprouting from existing traditions and flowering in the context of the Christian emphasis on the Word. The Church fathers spoke of methods of reading the Scriptures that would allow the reader to plumb the depths of meaning implicit in the divinely inspired text. Origen (184-253), for

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[122] Robertson, 73.
[123] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 26.

example, explicates three levels of meaning that may be found in the Scriptures: the literal or narrative meaning of the words, the soul of the text, and the spirit of the text.[124] These move a reader progressively towards insight into the "secret and hidden wisdom of God" and can lead to "union with God," the ultimate goal of meditative reading.[125] Cassian (360-435) further developed this approach to scriptural reading in his quadriga, or fourfold senses of the Scriptures. These include the literal, the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical.[126] The aim of both approaches to reading the sacred biblical text is to penetrate the surface of the words through concentrated attention and cogitation to discover the deeper, hidden meaning and by so doing to discover the living presence of Christ. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-c. 550), Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), Bede the Venerable (c. 673-735), and Isaac the Syrian (d. c. 700) all carried on this tradition of meditative reading with the goal of revealing sacred mysteries and facilitating the reader's spiritual development. A passage from Bede's *In primam partem Samuhelis* is revealing in its description of *lectio divina* through an alimentary metaphor, a trope often employed in descriptions of meditative reading:

> We are nourished on food roasted on a gridiron when we understand literally, openly and without any covering, the things that have been said or done to protect the health of the soul; upon food cooked in a frying pan when by frequently turning over the superficial meaning and looking at it afresh, we comprehend what there is in it that corresponds allegorically with the mysteries of Christ, what with the condition of the catholic church and what with setting right the ways of individuals; and afterwards we search in the oven for the bread of the Word when by exertion of mind we lay hold of those mystical things in the Scriptures, that is upon matters concealed aloft, which as yet we cannot see, but which we hope to see in the future.[127]

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[124] Studzinski, 32–33.
[125] Studzinski, 32.
[126] Studzinski, 117.
[127] Bede the Venerable, *In primam partem Samuhelis* 2.815-24 in Peter Hunter Blair, *Northumbria in the Days of Bede* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 204–5.

From this dictum, and other instruction in *lectio divina*, we understand that reading is a penetrative, investigative, concentrated, and ruminative process designed to build upon and delve beyond an intellectual understanding of the Scriptures to discover higher truths. In addition, the fundamental premise of *lectio divina* was that the Scriptures held infinite meanings for readers to discover. This connotative richness allowed not only for multiple meanings of the same text but inexhaustible meanings that were unique to the reader.[128]

The practice of *lectio divina* was, to some extent, codified in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when it was "revived" in the face of a burgeoning reading practice associated with scholasticism, which emphasized intellectuality rather than the experientiality and affectivity of traditional monastic *lectio*. Raymond Studzinski emphasizes the incompatibility between monastic *lectio* and the scholastic method of reading. However, the differences between these two practices may not be as stark as the author paints them. Studzinski characterizes scholastic reading as putting "emphasis on intellectual clarity and forceful and carefully constructed arguments about theological and philosophical matters" while practitioners of the more traditional monastic *lectio divina* "fall silent before the sacred mysteries" of the Scriptures.[129] It seems to me that scholastic reading practice merely chose to focus on one element that already existed within the traditional monastic *lectio*. *Lectio divina* as practiced by the ancients and fathers of the Church and their successors was not devoid of intellectualism. Indeed, scriptural exegesis as taught by Gregory the Great, Cassian, and others was highly intellectual, concerned not just with simple spiritual devotion but with probing sacred texts with intellect as well as faith to uncover the various layers of meaning.[130] I would assert that the scholarliness of

[128] Robertson, Lectio Divina, xv.
[129] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 144.
[130] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 119.

the conventional methods of *lectio* is embodied in the hermeneutic schemes (such as the quadriga, or fourfold senses of Scripture) developed by patristic writers and by programmatic approaches to meditative reading, such as Hugh of St. Victor's five-step reading process and Guigo II's *scala claustralium*, developed during the period in which scholastic reading methods were gaining ascendancy. Undoubtedly, the likes of Origen, Gregory the Great, Bede, Isaac the Syrain, Hugh, and Guigo, all progenitors and perpetuators of traditional *lectio divina*, could easily have held their own in the disputatious and erudite environment of the scholastic schoolroom. We should, therefore, view monastic *lectio* and scholastic *lectio* as complementary practices and the rise of scholasticism should not be construed as the death knell of the practice of *lectio divina*, at least not in the period with which this essay is concerned. Even if the black-and-white narrative that Studzinski presents is accurate, the Macclesfield Psalter was created and used during what he identifies as a transitional period; it was not until after the fourteenth century that the traditional practice of *lectio divina* was, according to Studzinski, effectively effaced and replaced by *lectio spiritualis*.[131]

Guigo II (d. c. 1188), a Carthusian monk and the ninth prior of Grande Chartreuse, is one of the figures whom Studzinski names as supporting the traditional practice of *lectio divina* during the emergence of scholasticism, as mentioned above.[132] In his *Scala claustralium* (*The Ladder of Monks*), Guigo outlines his "thoughts on the spiritual exercises proper to cloistered monks."[133] These exercises consist of a four-runged ladder comprising

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[131] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 176.

[132] Studzinski, 176.

[133] In this paper, all citations from Guigo's *Scala claustralium* come from *The Ladder of Monks: A Letter on the Contemplative Life and Twelve Meditations*, trans. Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, Cistercian Studies Series 48 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1981). Quotes will by cited by the section number from the original Latin text and the page number in the translation, following the example of this note: Guigo, *Ladder of Monks*, I, p. 67.

reading (*lectio*), meditation (*meditatio*), prayer (*oratio*), and contemplation (*contemplatio*), the bottom of which rests on the earth and the top of which pierces the heavens.[134] These steps are all part of the process of *lectio divina*, though Guigo himself calls it simply *lectio*.[135] According to the author

> Reading comes first, and is, as it were, the foundation; it provides the subject matter we must use for meditation. Meditation considers more carefully what is to be sought after; it digs, as it were, for treasure which it finds and reveals, but since it is not in meditation's power to seize upon the treasure, it directs us to prayer. Prayer lifts itself up to God with all its strength, and begs for the treasure it longs for, which is the sweetness of contemplation. Contemplation when it comes rewards the labors of the other three; it inebriates the thirsting soul with the dew of heavenly sweetness.[136]

While these tasks seem to be presented as discrete steps on a monk's ascent towards God's presence, Guigo makes clear that they are inextricable and part of a single, unified process: "From this we may gather that reading without meditation is sterile, meditation without reading is liable to error, prayer without meditation is lukewarm, meditation without prayer is unfruitful, prayer when it is fervent wins contemplation, but to obtain it without prayer would be rare, even miraculous."[137]

In the *Didascalicon*, written in the late 1120s, Hugh of St. Victor identified five steps in the reading process: *lectio* (reading), *meditatio* (meditation), *oratio* (prayer), *operatio* (performance), and *contemplatio* (contemplation).[138] Hugh envisioned the fourth step, *operatio*, as a putting into practice the principles that one had discerned through *lectio*, *meditatio*, and *oratio*. "Good performance," writes Hugh, "is the road by which one travels

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[134] Guigo, *Ladder of Monks*, II, p. 68; Robertson, Lectio Divina, 205.
[135] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 168.
[136] Guigo, *Ladder of Monks*, XII, p. 79
[137] Guigo, *Ladder of Monks*, XIV, p. 82.
[138] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 205.

toward life."[139] Contemplation, the final and most advanced step, is "a sort of fruit of the preceding steps, [in which] one has a foretaste, even in this life, of what the future reward of good work is."[140] Again, the ultimate goal of reading lay far beyond mere decipherment of the words on the page. The fulfillment of reading was a greater understanding of the truths underlying the text, insight into oneself, and union with God through action.

The Evolving Meaning of *Meditatio*

Both Hugh of St. Victor and Guigo II emphasize the importance of *meditatio* in the practice of *lectio divina*.[141] Guigo inquires of his reader: "Do you see how much juice has come from one little grape, how great a fire has been kindled from a spark, how this small piece of metal, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,' has acquired a new dimension by being hammered out on the anvil of meditation?"[142] But the meaning of *meditatio* understood and employed by Hugh and Guigo is not the same as that given to the term by classical or patristic writers. In classical usage, *meditare* meant to consider or to reflect in preparation for some action.[143] The Greek verb *meletein*, which was used in many early ascetic texts as an equivalent of *meditare*, is best defined in Latin by the phrase *exercendo preparare*, "to do preliminary exercises, to learn an art or science by practicing."[144] *Meditatio* was used in this practical sense by early Christian writers. For the desert ascetics in Egypt and Syria, meditation meant repeating the words of the

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[139] In this paper, all citations from Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon* come from *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). References will by cited by the book and chapter from the original Latin text along with the page number from the translation, following the example of this note: Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 5.9, p. 132-33.
[140] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 5.9, p. 132.
[141] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 205.
[142] Guigo, *Ladder of Monks*, V, p. 70.
[143] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 97.
[144] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 82.

scriptures or those of the abba/amma until they were firmly inscribed in memory.[145] Cassian's use of the word in his *Conferences* corresponds with this definition of meditation as well.[146] In late antiquity and into the Middle Ages, *meditatio* was considered a memorial activity in which "reading is memorized and changed into personal experience."[147] In the earliest monastic rules, such as the Rule of St. Benedict written circa 530, meditation "means chiefly repetition, recitation, and memorization. *Meditatio* takes place in the memorization *process* while the text is being learned, alone or in groups, and also in psalmody and the recitation of previously memorized texts, while the monk is busy at other work, away from the written page."[148]

The meaning of the term *meditatio* began to expand precisely when the traditional practice of *lectio divina* began to come up against the reading practices of scholasticism. In the milieu of the eleventh-century spiritual revival, meditation developed into the imaginative, affective, propagative practice that we know today. The writings of Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) described *meditatio* as much more than simple memorization.[149] Indeed, Anselm feared that one would grow bored and the sacred words would lose their savor if repeated over and over again.[150] For Anselm, meditation was a reflexive activity in which one examined oneself and worked to cultivate the worthiness required to receive God's grace.[151] As such, the process of meditation was to some degree liberated from the text and could take place away from the written page, its focal point now

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[145] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 99. In early desert monastic communities in the East, the abba (father) or amma (mother) was responsible for the spiritual welfare of the monks and nuns in the community, in a fashion similar to the role of an abbot or abbess in western monasticism.
[146] Studzinski, 118.
[147] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 53.
[148] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 97.
[149] See particularly Anselm's *Orationes sive meditationes*, in English translation: Benedicta Ward, *The Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm* (New York: Penguin Books, 1973).
[150] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 149.
[151] Robertson, 154–55.

not only the words of the Scriptures but, more abstractly, the doctrines that they teach and their wider implication.[152] Fundamentally it is the text, however, that is the source of the food which one masticates in the process of *meditatio*, as the building blocks of spiritual evolution come from an internalization of the Scriptures and a shaping of one's self in their image. Meditation, for Anselm, is inspired by the Word but need not focus solely on the words.

The full transformation of the meaning of *meditatio* from the process of memorization to the modern sense of the term can be seen in Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*, Guigo II's *Scala claustralium*, and Bernard of Clairvaux's *Sermons on the Song of Songs*. It can also be seen in the a new genre of written meditations, *meditationes*. This type of work

> is not bound to the exposition of a given text, as is a commentary; it does not develop a logical argument, as does a treatise; it does not usually address a named reader, as does a letter, nor speak to a present, responsive congregation, as does a sermon. It is still essentially an extension of reading based, however, on no single text but rather on a free-association of any number of scriptural references.[153]

One example of this genre comes from William, abbot of St. Thierry near Rheims from 1119/1120 until 1135. The complexity of the meditational act and the way in which it intertwines both intellect and spirit, human and divine, is eloquently described by Jacques Hourlier, who translated and provided commentary on William's *Meditationes*. It is worth quoting in full:

> William was much too intellectual not to situate the possession of God in an act of contemplation, of knowledge. At the same time he was too practical not to take into account two other realities. On the one hand, all earthly knowledge takes its departure from sensible objects and from the concepts we form of them. Now God is spirit, transcendent being. Since he far surpasses the intelligence, it is necessary

[152] Robertson, 155.
[153] Robertson, 209.

> to compensate for its deficiency. On the other hand, in man who forms a complete whole, the act of the intellect is accompanied by an act of the will. In both cases it is fitting to give place to love so as to realize, with the help of grace, a genuine connaturalness with God – to be one with him.[154]

This is the goal of the whole process of *lectio divina*: connaturalness with God. As such, William's meditation "unwinds in spirals around certain fixed points. He reaches out constantly toward a difficult, elusive beyond."[155] Hugh of St. Victor referred to meditation as the opening up or unfolding (*evolvere*) of the Bible,[156] and he described it thus:

> Meditation takes its start from reading but is bound by none of reading's rules or precepts. For it delights to range along open ground, where it fixes its free gaze upon the contemplation of truth, drawing together now these, now those causes of things, or now penetrating into profundities, leaving nothing doubtful, nothing obscure. The start of learning, thus, lies in reading, but its consummation lies in meditation.[157]

Memory played a key role in the practice of *lectio divina* and, more particularly, *meditatio*. Though *meditatio* was liberated from the page to some extent, as mentioned above, it was still necessary that the words of the text be part of the individual as fodder for the ruminative exploration that meditation required. Thus, memory and the stocking of one's memorial storehouse with, if nothing else, the *res* of sacred texts or their meaning *summatim* was still vital. Meditation was often described as a process of chewing or mastication, and the texts, or thoughts inspired by them, provided the food. As put by Bernard, "As food is sweet to the palate, so does a psalm delight the heart with the teeth as it were of the mind, because if he swallows it in a lump, without proper mastication, the palate will be cheated of the delicious flavor, sweeter than honey that drips from the

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[154] *The Works of William of St. Thierry,* Vol. 1: On Contemplating God, Prayer, Meditations, ed. and trans. Jacques Hourlier, translated from French by Sister Penelope, Cistercian Fathers Series 3 (Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1971), see the Introduction to *On Contemplating God*, 7.
[155] *The Works of William of St. Thierry*, see the Introduction to the *Meditationes*, 79.
[156] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 99.
[157] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 3.10, pp. 92-93.

comb."[158] Meditation, while free-ranging, was rooted in an assimilation of the Scriptures into one's *memoria*. By committing something to one's memory, therefore, one also made it a subject for meditation.[159] Further, if something is physically designed in such as a way as to be memorable, as for example the marginal figures in the Macclesfield Psalter, then it is also designed for use in meditation. This close connection between *memoria* and *meditatio*, between form and function, highlights the interconnectedness of reading, memory, and both senses of the term *meditatio* as enumerated above. This, in turn, suggests that the tools of meditation, as I will argue the marginal hybrids are, would also have this fluency of function and meaning.

THE ROLE OF IMAGES IN *MEDITATIO*

Monastic *meditatio* was conceived of as an activity in which one "take[s] the 'brief' mustardseed and make[s] it grow and spread copiously into a 'great tree of knowledge.'"[160] The mustard seeds are, of course, Biblical texts and sacred writings that one has stored "in the little chest of our memory, so that later on, when need arises, we can derive everything else from them."[161] The job of meditation was to take a topic or idea and use those memorial mustard seeds to expand on the idea with the aim of reaching a deeper understanding or discovering a sacred truth. According to Carruthers, monastic rhetoric envisions meditation as a compositive process in which one creates a path or way (*ductus*) through one's memorial stores that gathers up (*collatio*, *colligere, collocare, tractare*) and connects the things stored there and by so doing moves towards the goal or target (*skopos*)

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[158] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermon on the Song of Songs*, 7.3.5 in *St. Bernard's Commentary on the Song of Songs*, accessed June 24, 2018, http://archive.org/details/StBernardsCommentaryOnTheSongOfSongs.
[159] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 102.
[160] Carruthers, 64. Here Carruthers is paraphrasing a sermon by Peter Chrysologus on the mustard seed parable (Luke 13:18-19).
[161] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 3.11, p. 94.

of a particular meditation.[162] It is a process of way-finding, of gathering and collecting, of ruminating and digesting, of drawing connections and assimilating knowledge that exists in the *sedes* of one's *memoria*, all in service of an imaginative and contemplative objective. It is the process of building machines of the mind to raise one's self toward God.[163]

Composing a meditation was not an easy task, as the foregoing intimates. It was considered a labor that required concentration, an intent mind (*intenta mente*). In his *Homeliae in Ecclesiasten*, Hugh of St. Victor likened it to a green log thrown onto a fire. For the wood to catch flame requires a great deal of smoke, noise, and steam, but once the flame ignites it burns as bright as the fire into which it was cast. *Meditatio* is the struggle between ignorance and knowledge, and even a successful meditation only provides a glimpse of truth (the real revelation belongs to the phase of *contemplatio*).[164] As human beings, in our imperfection, are subject to many failings that might interfere with the focus required for meditation (including *curiositas*, *fornicatio*, or being *mobilis* or *vaga* in our thoughts),[165] aids to *meditatio* were employed. As one might expect given their role in mnemotechnique, images often served as tools to initiate, guide, and structure meditation. Images were the *formae* which, like the schemata used in the medieval schoolroom to present complex material to students, could be used to structure *meditatio*.[166] Images also served meditation by inviting further contemplation, by assisting in the initiation of meditation, by preventing the mind's attention from wandering, by establishing the color (*color*) or mode (*modus*) of a meditation, and, most importantly for my purposes, by

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[162] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, chap. 2.
[163] Carruthers, 60. The trope of meditation/contemplation as an act of building is common in antiquity and the Middle Ages, and can be seen in the writing of St. Paul, Isidore of Seville, Hugh of St. Victor, Gregory the Great, and Augustine, to name just a few.
[164] Robertson, *Lectio Divina*, 218.
[165] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 82–84.
[166] Carruthers, 76.

serving as structuring devices that "functioned as the stations of the way, to be stopped at and stayed in before continuing."[167] Interestingly, in the practice of monastic composition it was the difficult tropes of Scripture, what Augustine calls *obscurias utilis et salubris*, which had the greatest benefit for the meditative compositional process.[168]

These visual meditational *instrumentae* could take various forms. Diagrammatic images were a popular means of structuring and guiding meditation. Take, for example, Hugh of St. Victor's *archa Noe*. Hugh described the structure of the mystic ark in a tract now known by its modern title *Libellus de formatione arche*. The ark, as reconstructed by Conrad Rudolph, is pictured in Figure 21.[169] It is "a cosmography – a combination of *mappa mundi* and *genealogia*, together with mnemonics for the vices and virtues (including the monastic virtues), the books of the Bible, a calendar, and other assorted categories of information – all put together as an elaborate set of schematics imposed upon the Genesis description of Noah's Ark."[170] In the text, Hugh describes each part of this complex object and expounds on the symbolism of its appearance. After describing the construction, coloring, and inscriptions of the central cubit (see Figure 22), Hugh states

> If you are looking for an explanation of this thing, what else does the inscription seem to say to you except that Christ is the beginning and the end, the giver of the Old Law and the New.
> And the painting, what else does it tell you, if not to say that this cubit signifies the same person as the pillar of fire and cloud that preceded the people of Israel in the desert, illuminating them through the fire, and that protected them, overshadowing

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[167] Carruthers, 116.
[168] Carruthers, 116.
[169] Conrad Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). Scholarly consensus is lacking with regard to whether or not the image described by Hugh ever actually had physical form. Carruthers asserts that it was never made (and did not need to be in order to function as the memorial and meditational device it was meant to be; see Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 294)), but Conrad Rudolph argues that it was constructed at the convent of Hohenbourg during the abbacy of Abbess Herrad in the late twelfth century and that Hugh used it to conduct lectures there (see Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark*, 49-51).
[170] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 294.

> them through the cloud – he who was both awesome to the former [chosen] people in punishing sins through the fire of divine majesty and who appeared gentle to the later [chosen] people in forgiving sins through the cloud of humanity. For the sins of men, he was sacrificed on the cross like a gentle lamb, not opening his mouth; and for the righteousness of men, he was exalted by arising and ascending above the heavens.
>
> Through the purple of his blood he shows the example of his Passion to those who come to him from everywhere, and in the color green the unfading reward of celestial remuneration. Or, in purple he shows the blood of the Passion that sacrifices, and in the color green the water of baptism that cleanses. Or, in purple he shows the fire with which he is going to judge the world in the end, and in the color green the water with which he has judged the world in the past. Or, in purple he shows the damnation of the wicked whom he will justly condemn, and in the color green the liberation of the good whom he will mercifully save.[171]

This description embodies several principles of mnemotechnique. First, each concept is attached to an *imago* which is then placed in a structured layout (*locus*) for recollection. Second, the components of the scheme have multiple meanings, as Hugh makes clear in his description of the colors of the central cubit. These principles also operated in the execution of *meditatio*. Another mnemonic and meditational principle that manifests in Hugh's description is the duality of brevity and copiousness. For meditation, one was meant to take the memorial mustard seeds (those "brief" things that had been committed to memory *summatim*) and expand upon them by linking them to other related information from one's memory stores, to make the brief things copious, constructing the *ductus* of meditation as a route through one's *memoria* towards the contemplative goal (*skopos*).[172] This is exactly what Hugh has done in the construction of his ark. "Hugh's memory diagram of the Ark," asserts Carruthers, "is an investigative device for meditation and composition."[173] Hugh would have been able to use his ark to construct meditations on

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[171] Hugh of St. Victor, *De formatione arche*, I in Rudolph, *Mystic Ark*, 401–4.

[172] The term *skopos*, a Greek word, was introduced into the language of rhetoric by Fortunatinaus (mid-fourth century). In Greek it refers to the target of a bowman, the place that he looks as he aims his arrow. Fortunatianus, and Cassian after him with reference to monastic meditation, used the term to mean the goal of a ruminative composition.

[173] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 297.

multiple topics by simply varying the *ductus* and *skopos* of his reminiscence. On his mental travels, Hugh might stop now at this object, now at that object, to dig further into the mysteries that, in that moment, they represented to him.[174] As such, the individual elements of the image could serve as *loci*, way-points for "meta-meditations" within the overall *ductus* of a larger *meditatio*, or as *loci* for an entire meditational event.

MARGINAL HYBRIDS AS LOCI FOR *MEDITATIO* IN THE MACCLESFIELD PSALTER

The *mise-en-page* of any manuscript is, in essence, a diagram. This being the case, we can, with validity, draw a parallel between the components of Hugh's ark and the components of a manuscript page. I would argue that the marginal hybrids served as *loci* for meditation in the same way that the elements of Hugh's ark served in that capacity. They did this in several ways, as mentioned above: by functioning as aids to the initiation of *meditatio*, by providing way-points or signposts for the eye (and the eye of the mind) in the *ductus* of a meditation, by inviting further contemplation and slowing the reader down (which was thought to aid meditation), and by energizing the reader to remaining focused during his meditation (preventing *curiositas* and *fornicatio*).[175] All of these operations are interdependent and all are part of what, in memorial practice, the word *locus* signifies (which is why I have chosen to use this term). A memorial *locus* was a structuring device, a house for knowledge and memories, a place of inspiration and of gathering. A *locus* provided the food of meditation and enabled the devout to chew in contemplation. Marginal hybrids, I assert, operated in just this way for the owner of the Macclesfield Psalter.

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[174] Carruthers, 297.

[175] The specific meaning of these terms in the Middle Ages will be discussed later in this chapter.

This discussion must be couched in the context of the devotional use of the Psalms in the Middle Ages. According to Alcuin of York (c. 735-804) in the preface to *De psalmorum usu liber*,

> In the psalms you will find, if you study them with an intent mind [*intenta mente*], and reach a spiritual understanding of them, the incarnation of the Word of God, his passion, resurrection and ascension. In the psalms you will find an intimate prayer, if you study them with an intent mind, such as you could not in any way conceive by yourself. In the psalms you will find an intimate confession of your sins, and a complete prayer for divine mercy; in the psalms also you will find intimate thanksgiving for all things which have happened to you.[176]

The Psalms were thought to be an inexhaustible source of wisdom and knowledge for those who were willing to apply themselves in prayerful meditation to their reading. They provided an endless supply of sustenance for the spirit and meditational inspiration for the mind. All Christians, not just monks and clerics, were expected to learn the Psalms by heart. The Book of Psalms was the text used to teach children to read and, for this reason, was simply referred to as the primer. In the medieval period, if a family owned only one book, as was often the case if one could be afforded at all, it was a psalter. The Psalms were the ordering principle that defined monastic life in the form of the Divine Office. They were used in corporate worship and private devotion. The Psalms were an essential tool of devotion for everyone, from the pope to the ordinary citizen whose literacy level prevented him from reading the words himself. The Psalms were the bedrock of memory and, as such, the wellspring of meditation.[177]

Marginal Hybrids as Agents of *Compunctio Cordis*

The devotional centrality and utility of the Psalms has been established and the process of meditation has already been described in some detail. Let us now turn to the

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[176] Quoted in Robertson, Lectio Divina, 127.
[177] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 113.

idea of marginal hybrids as aids to the initiation of *meditatio*. How was *meditatio* to be started? According to Hugh of St. Victor, meditation began "in a moment when the reader lifts his or her eyes from the words in order to apprehend the meanings of the things that the words signify."[178] With regard to the Macclesfield Psalter, upon lifting his eyes from the text the reader was very likely to see some sort of marginal hybrid. Even to the modern reader these figures draw the eye and engage the mind. What would the Macclesfield Psalter's owner have thought, gazing upon these images as he paused in the task of reading or domesticating the Psalms in his memory? Again, we are confronted with the impossibility of reconstructing with any measure of certainty the thoughts of a medieval person. And, again, we know that images of this type (not to mention meditations) were meant to be personal in their meaning and to inspire or aid in *meditatio* on any variety of topics at the reader's discretion. In the cases in which there is some thematic connection between the text and the marginal figures, the content and *ductus* of a meditation might be somewhat easier to envision. However, as has been stated, the marginal hybrids rarely had any direct and obvious connection to the adjacent text.

We can look to Origen, one of the fathers of *lectio divina*, for assistance in overcoming this interpretive hurdle. Karen Jo Torjesen identified four queries that Origen asked of the texts that he read: What is the grammatical sense of the text? What historical reality does the text relate? What is the doctrine or divine mystery that this text is trying to communicate to the reader? How does this doctrine or divine mystery relate to the reader in his or her present (whenever that may be)?[179] One can imagine a scenario in which the reader of the Macclesfield Psalter, having been educated in the process of meditative

[178] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 218.
[179] Karen Jo Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis*, Patristische Texte und Studien 28 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 138–47.

reading by his spiritual advisor (regardless of whether it went by the name *lectio divina* or not and whether it was taught systematically or imparted contextually), might ask similar questions of the text, or indeed of any issue that the text or the images themselves raised in his mind.

The role of the marginal hybrids as initiators of meditation would be to provide *compunctio cordis*, to help put the reader into the correct mindset to intently and reverently (with *intenta mente*) ruminate on the questions above. As we know from the guidelines for the creation of *imagines* in mnemotechnical manuals, in order to effectively impress something in the memory the emotions must be engaged.[180] The same was true for *meditatio*, as one might expect given the close relationship between the two. For the mind to be engaged, the heart had to be engaged. To activate one's mind, the first step was to "expel worldly cares," ancient advice that persisted down to the late Middle Ages and was considered an important preparative step in meditation.[181] According to Augustine, in the next stage one was to induce the meditational act through fear, by imagining the most terrifying things one could envision, including one's own death.[182] This initiatory step came to be known as *compunctio cordis*, literally "a puncture of the heart." The heart was intimately bound up with memory both in the ancient world and in the medieval period, and even in the present it is common to speak of remembering something "by heart".[183] To puncture the heart was to activate *memoria* and thereby to begin the process of meditative reminiscence using those things stored in the treasure-house of one's memory.

As the practice of *meditatio* developed, so too did the methods of *compunctio cordis*. The goal was to work one's self into a pious state of grief, anxiety, shame, fear or

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[180] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 217.
[181] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 95.
[182] Carruthers, 95–96.
[183] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 59–60.

a similar strong emotion by means of detailed imagings. One might achieve this by engaging emotionally with thoughts of one's sins, by constructing vivid mental pictures of Hell and the Last Judgment, or engaging in imaginative, emotion-filled recitation of the Psalms or other appropriately inspiring texts.[184] The emotion called up needed to be almost overwhelming. Indeed, being moved to tears through graphic imaginings was a common trope in tales of the meditations and visions of saints. All of these methods relied on the making and use of images, whether real or created solely in the mind. German *Andachtsbilder* of the late Middle Ages, such as the woodcut of the vision of St. Bernard of Clairvaux (also called the Blood Crucifix) seen in Figure 23, epitomize the type of vivid, highly charged, even grotesque images that might be used to pierce the heart and jumpstart meditation. A later example, a picture of Hell from the meditational tract *Hortus deliciarum* created by Abbess Herrad of Hohenbourg in the twelfth century (Figure 24), uses the same type of overtly striking imagery to act as a meditational aid. While such extreme visual affectivity may not have been a hallmark of art before the late Middle Ages, the idea that images were meant to invoke emotion to aid in prayer, and were designed to do so, was common much earlier.[185]

Another pertinent example of such images are the frontispieces placed at the beginning of some medieval manuscripts. Like the germinal figures used by Pythagorean and Stoic orators to inspire and structure their homilies, the initiatory *picturae* became essential in monastic meditation as the stimulus of *memoria*.[186] The Temple and the Tabernacle were widely used as models for such images. Their structures, and their connection to the Biblical Temple/Tabernacle, were tools to inspire and help orient the

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[184] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 103.
[185] Henk van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, trans. Michael Hoyle (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1994), 87.
[186] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 198–99.

ductus of a meditation by providing a *locus* and the initial links for a memorial *catena*. An eminent example of the use of the Temple/Tabernacle as a frontispiece can be found in the Codex Amiatinus (Figure 25). Dating from circa 715, this Insular manuscript is the earliest extant pandect of the Latin Vulgate Bible. The image of the Tabernacle opening the manuscript on folios IIv-III was, based on its placement, clearly not meant to illustrate the Exodus account of the Tabernacle.[187] It seems obvious that the purpose of this image lay firmly within the bounds of monastic meditational praxis. Both the correspondence between the structure of the Tabernacle and the guidelines for the construction of memorial *loci* and the fact that measuring the Temple or Tabernacle was commonly thought to be a penitential act intended to dispose the heart and mind to prayerful reading or contemplation support this conclusion.[188] The structure of the Temple/Tabernacle served as a device to properly dispose the reader's *memoria* and to inspire the powerful emotions associated with penitence in order to aid in the construction of a meditation.

While the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter bear no visual similarities to the architectural diagram of the Tabernacle, they are akin in purpose. The appearance of the hybrids, whose many parts and strange combinations might strike the medieval viewer as puzzling, surprising, humorous, disgusting, or even frightening, was intended to pierce the heart and provoke strong emotion in order to inaugurate *meditatio*. The reader might also use the marginal hybrids as a structuring device, like the building of the Temple or the Tabernacle, orienting the *ductus* of his meditation around the individual components of a single hybrid figure, such as the tripartite hybrid on folio 53r (Figure 26), or the individual hybrid figures within the context of the entire page, such as the four hybrids on

[187] Cecil Roth, "Jewish Antecedents of Christian Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953): 24–44.
[188] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 235.

folio 29r (Figure 27). Having been moved to the emotional heights required for *meditatio*, the reader could then mentally traverse the page via the ubiquitous, glittering gilded vines, passing by fascinating hybrids and hidden creatures from which his mind, already disposed to intense and prayerful scrutiny, would take inspiration.[189]

Marginal Hybrids as Invitations to Contemplation and Meditational Signposts

This brings us to the function of marginal hybrids as invitations to contemplation and meditational signposts. In her discussion of the *ars memorativa*, Carruthers averred that "*imagines rerum* can act as compositional sites and cues that can 'gather in' (*re-colligere*) much related material laid down elsewhere in memory, because they invite the orator's mental eyes to stay and contemplate."[190] In the case of the hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter it is the reader's physical eyes that are engaged; the principle, however, is the same. The marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter catch the eye and create the opportunity for the mind to delve further into those thoughts the text has raised. Take, for example, the trio of hybrids in the *bas-de-page* of folio 48v (Figure 28). One can envision a reader pausing after the nearby passage "Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile,"[191] and as he lifts his eyes from the words he spies the two winged hybrids at the bottom of the page. The one on the right has its mouth wide open, as if it were "speaking guile" to the less aggressive looking figure on the left. This could easily transmute into a meditation on evil thoughts and speech, or on the merits of humility and meekness, or the nature of evil and the punishments that await liars in the hereafter. The reader might also notice that the human face of the left-hand hybrid is turned away from

[189] I envision this meditative mental perambulation as similar to what Carruthers proposes as the meditative use of cloisters by monks in the Middle Ages. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 272.
[190] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 186.
[191] Psalms 33:14.

the hybrid "speaking guile," a fact that he might connect with verse 15 in the psalm above: "Turn away from evil and do good."[192] Further, the reader might interpret the head of the left-hand hybrid that is facing toward the hybrid "speaking guile" as symbolic of those of those people who struggle to turn away from evil yet do not always succeed. The reader's mind may then alight on thoughts of his own sins, providing him with the *compunctio cordis* required to begin a deeper meditation. Yet again, it must be emphasized that I propose this reading not as a definitive interpretation but as a model of how the process of meditative cogitation might work in the context of the Macclesfield Psalter.[193]

This nature of transitions from word to image and from text to thoughts and back again define the *color* and *modus* of a meditation, the timbre of the *ductus*, if you will. Hybrids, with their arresting variety and mentally stimulating configurations, not only invite the reader's mind to stay and contemplate but also help to set the pace of that contemplation and in so doing act as signposts guiding the course and speed of the meditation. This supposition is supported by the fact that, as a whole, the Macclesfield Psalter is more heavily decorated at important text divisions, such as the tenfold division of the Psalms. These, as we know, are the parts of the text which the reader is meant to spent time ruminating over. At these locations in the psalter, the combination of historiated initials, marginal figures, foliate border, and all the other decorative elements, serve to provide a space ripe for meditative reading and contemplation. His eyes alighting on the most remarkable component of this visual system, the hybrid figures, the reader begins to compose his meditation using the hybrids to structure its path. Like the carpet pages of

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[192] Psalm 33:15.

[193] Although I take pains to emphasize that the marginal hybrids could inspire and structure meditations not directly related to the text, the examples that I have given thus far exemplify the relationship of logical connection. The reason for this is simple. Meditations are so personal that, unless I were to experience a spontaneous meditation for myself while reading the Macclesfield Psalter, I could not hope to speculate on how such a meditation might proceed.

Insular manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells, the purpose of the visual complexity of the marginal hybrids was to prompt the reader to search for

> patterns, discovering consonances of form and color: this is the visual equivalent to what verbal *allegoria* also invites…To read it requires an attitude of 'holy curiosity' to discover the multiple routes within its restless forms. And the prickings, scorings, and 'woundings' of the parchment which were necessary to draw the design…bring to mind – in the inventive way of all good composition – the compunction with which one should begin prayerfully to read [the sacred texts].[194]

One example that can be cited is the perplexing hybrid on folio 30v (Figure 29). The confusing amalgamation of faces sparks the never-ceasing wheel of the mind to turn faster as the reader/viewer attempts to determine how the component parts of the creature relate to one another. This complexity "greases the wheels" of the mind, as it were, inspiring feelings of wonder, confusion, or disquiet and thereby putting into motion the mental processes needed for *meditatio*.

Of course, *meditatio* could take place at any point in the text, and this explains why hybrids are present throughout the manuscript in a fairly even concentration (see Appendices). It also explains why more pages than not contain at least one hybrid figure, and even those pages that do not have any figural elements still bear the ornate and detailed foliate border which, in its very structure, resembles a meditational *ductus*. Any word or phrase, any thought or idea, any picture presented to the eye or to the eye of the mind, whether straightforwardly related to the text or not, might spark the ruminative process of meditation that these elements would facilitate.

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[194] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 169.

An suggestive parallel can be drawn between the visual characteristics of the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter and what Augustine calls the "obscurities" of the Scriptures. As has been mentioned before, Augustine saw immense value in the *obscuritas utilis et salubris* in the Bible. For Augustine, it was contemplation of these difficult tropes that brought about the most fruitful rewards. In other words, the harder one must work in order to grasp the meaning of a text from the Scriptures, the greater the spiritual benefit when understanding is achieved. What are these marginal hybrids if not obscure, both visually and operatively? The obscurity, like the use of challenging literary devices such as allegory and oxymoron, was a purposeful choice (one possibly made by the patron's Dominican confessor) to enhance the devotional utility of the images.[195] These fantastical (and therefore memorable!) figures and scenes strike the eye of the mind more powerfully than mundane images, thus engaging the cognitive procedures that are required for effective cogitation with greater efficacy and alacrity.

Marginal Hybrids as Defenders Against *Fornicatio*

Fornicatio and *curiositas* were two of the most pernicious enemies of *meditatio*, and much ink was spilt in the Middle Ages importuning readers to guard against them.[196] Neither term, when used in the context of monastic rhetoric, bore the same definition that we give to them today. *Curiositas* in this context referred to memorial disorder or the inability to provide adequate structure to one's meditative routes and to keep them on track.

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[195] Carruthers, 122.

[196] One example can be found in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, in which he chastises monks who rely for inspiration on the images created by artists (in manuscripts and in the cloister) rather than keeping their attention on their own inner meditative activities and generating their own "images."

Similarly, *fornicatio* implies aimlessness and a lack of concentration that allows the mind to become prey to distraction.[197] When we lack mental and spiritual discipline that we ought to have in reading and contemplation, our minds, according to Cassian, are

> forever on the move, forever wandering, [are] tossed along through all the body of Scripture, unable to settle on anything, unable to reject anything or hold on to anything, powerless to arrive at any full and judicious study, a dilettante and a nibbler on spiritual interpretation rather than being its creator and possessor.[198]

To avoid being a nibbler, the devout searcher benefits from an "energizing" element that continually engages the mind by eliciting emotional responses.[199] As we know, emotion is required both for effective *memoria* and for productive *meditatio*. And, as has been shown, marginal hybrids were designed to produce strong feelings in the service of meditation. In drawing the eye and engaging the mind, marginal hybrids act as the energizing element that prevents *curiositas* and *fornicatio*.

The function of marginal images as energizing directive elements was also recognized by scholar Madeline Caviness, albeit in a very different context. In her article on the marginalia in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Caviness maintained that "the marginalia are so invasive and aggressive that the only safe havens from the nightmarishness of the pages' shivaree are the tiny places assigned to Jeanne d'Evreux for prayer. As a reader, she would also find a safe place in the written word."[200] The grotesque marginal images, Caviness says, function to disgust the reader to such a degree that her only respite lay in the orthodoxy of the text and her devotions. The marginalia, then, were a device of control. While Caviness interprets this in terms of gender power dynamics, in

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[197] John Cassian, Conferences, X.13., quoted in Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 82–83.
[198] Carruthers, 83.
[199] Carruthers, 117.
[200] Madeline Caviness, "Patron or Matron?: A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68, no. 2 (April 1993): 334. The manuscript is held in New York at the Metropolitan Museum's Cloisters branch, MS 54.1.2.

essence her conclusion resonates with my assertion that the marginal hybrids were meant to prevent *fornicatio*. For Caviness, the marginal grotesques in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux stimulate the reader to return her attention to the safety of the text; in the Macclesfield Psalter the marginal hybrids serve to prevent the reader from engaging in the sin of *curiositas* by providing tools to engage the meditative mental process. In both cases, the purpose of the figures is to return the reader to what is perceived to be his or her prescribed task.

Internal Evidence for Marginal Hybrids as *Loci* of *Meditatio*

Evidence cites in Chapter 2 in support of the place of marginalia in mnemotechnique could also be used to bolster the claim that marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter served as *loci* for *meditatio*. This is only natural given the interconnectedness of the two processes. The visual properties of the figures, their relationship to the text and other decorative elements, and their placement at important text divisions are evidence not only of their efficacy in mnemotechnique but also of their operation as initiators and perpetuators of *meditatio*.

The construction of the hybrids, for example, reflects the very process of *meditatio*. Meditation was a gathering up (*collatio*, *collocare*) of ideas from one's memorial storehouse, a principle reflected in the physiology of the hybrid figures. Just as a meditation involved the bringing together of disparate, sometimes seemingly incongruous ideas or texts, so too the bodies of the hybrids are composed of different and sometimes seemingly incompatible parts. Like a meditation, however, in which pieces of knowledge are seamlessly brought together through the meditator's *catena*-building, the hybrids' components are smoothly connected, the intersections often "masked by a neckerchief,

cowl, cape, or some folded piece of drapery," as seen in Figure 30.[201] This suggests a concerted effort to create a visual fluidity that was not an aesthetic necessity, strictly speaking, but that heightens the parallel between hybrids and the process of meditation.

Another area of consideration is what I call the iconography of *meditatio*. Many of the visual characteristics of the marginal hybrids and their relationships to the surrounding text and decorative elements resonate with the language used by medieval writers to talk about meditation. Of particular note are the interactions between the hybrid figures and the foliate border. The figures climb on, stand on, pull, cut, and chew on the vines (see Figure 31 for examples). These vines, as stated above, visually represent meditational *ductus*. The marginal figures' actions on the vines, particularly in chewing and pulling, embody the character of meditation. Meditation requires one to chew on, masticate, digest, and regurgitate, like the marginal hybrid on folio 123r (Figure 32), the gems of wisdom from one's memorial treasure chest in an original ruminative composition.[202] The hybrids and other figures are, in essence, acting out meditation as they interact with the vine-*ductus* of the meditational *via*. Indeed, the vines even grow out of the hybrids (from heads, noses, mouths, or posteriors) in the same way that a meditational *ductus* grows out of the structures of a meditational *loci* that the marginal hybrids represent (Figure 33). This vigorous relationship also reflects the active nature of meditation and the mental and spiritual struggle that it requires. When proper effort is made, *meditatio* will bear fruit, just as the vines of the foliate border blossom into delicately rendered flowers and human and animal heads (Figure 34). Note also the way in which vines grow out of both heads and backsides (Figure 35). The head is the seat of the intellect and therefore the place of meditation, and the vines sprout out of the figures' heads just as *meditatio* is meant to

[201] Sandler, "Reflection," 55.
[202] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 206–7.

sprout organically from the reader's mind. Meditation and prayer are also referred to in medieval writing as spiritual flatulence.[203] The figure of the semi-nude vine-hybrid with flowering tendrils growing out of his anus puts this somewhat strange trope into physical form (Figure 36). Seemingly innumerable examples of the way in which the hybrids and other elements of the visual program embody the language of meditation might be cited, but the examples above should be sufficient to illustrate this important relationship.

One final feature of the manuscript facilitates its devotional use as a meditational aid. Recall from Chapter 1 that the Macclesfield Psalter measures a mere 170x108 mm (approximately 6.7x4.3 inches). An opening from the Psalter is reproduced in Figure 37 to demonstrate the effect that the size of the manuscript has on the viewer's interaction with it. In order to appreciate, and indeed to see, all of the rich detail, particularly of the more densely populated pages, one must move fairly close the manuscript. The result of this is an increased immediacy and physical connection to the manuscript, as the reader is forced to engage in close looking in order to decipher the script and view the decoration. This, in turn, increases the reader's meditational attitude. His proximity to the word physically increases his proximity to the word spiritually. Holding his face close to the book, the rest of the world literally disappears as the manuscript blocks the view of anything beyond its borders. The word and the Word become the reader's world, reflecting the level of commitment and concentration necessary in order to engage in successful *mediatio*. Physical proximity to the manuscript also decreases the danger of *curiositas* and *fornicatio*, as the rest of the world is, for the period of reading, invisible. The reader is at liberty to "fix [his] free gaze upon the contemplation of truth" and allow his meditational

[203] Carruthers, 208.

ductus to unfold as his eyes and the eyes of his mind explore the vivid textures, sounds, smells, and tastes of the Macclesfield Psalter.

Chapter 4: The Ethical

"Of all the things to be sought, the first is that Wisdom in which the Form of the Perfect Good stands fixed. Wisdom illuminates the man so that he may recognize himself."[204] These words written by Hugh of St. Victor underscore the importance of self-improvement in medieval monastic praxis. One path to pursuit of this goal was meditation on the holy words of Scripture (in both senses of the word *meditatio*, as described above). Devotional manuscripts, therefore, had a higher purpose in the formation of personal character. The Macclesfield Psalter, as a devotional book, was meant not simply to teach its owner the historical reality of the biblical text but also to facilitate the development of a moral character. As Gregory the Great expounded in his sermons and biblical commentaries, the historical reality communicated by the literal sense of the Bible's words was the understanding appropriate to a beginner in biblical exegesis.[205] As the reader became more adept, he or she would search for the deeper and more spiritually significant meanings in the text. The relationship between the reader and the text was reciprocal; as the reader developed, so too did the biblical text.[206] Incidentally, this process is mirrored in the three levels of meaning I have proposed for the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter. The literal sense is mirrored by the practical function of the marginal hybrids, while the deeper levels of scriptural understanding are reflected in the spiritual and ethical functions of the marginal hybrids. And, just as Gregory envisioned the reader pursuing whatever level of interpretation he or she needed at the time, the practical, spiritual, and ethical functions of the marginal hybrids could be employed at any time in any order as dictated by the needs of the reader.

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[204] Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, 1.1, p. 46.
[205] Robertson, Lectio Divina, 60–61.
[206] Robertson, 60.

In this chapter, we will explore the role of the marginal hybrids in the ethical development of the reader. As tools for the memorization and as *loci* of *meditatio*, the hybrids in the margins of the Macclesfield Psalter would have facilitated the reader's movement from literal to spiritual understanding through memorization and meditation and, ultimately, to ethical development by means of the relationship between memory and personal character. The marginal hybrids were, and were intended to be, sites for ethical cultivation.

ETHICAL CULTIVATION THROUGH MEMORY

According to Cassian's *Conferences*, "Ideally, with *studium* and *industria*, through repetitive memorization and meditation, the text eventually shapes the mind in its own image."[207] As the foregoing suggests, the idea that reading and memory promoted the development of morality was not new in the Middle Ages, nor was it unique to Christian culture. In antiquity, memory was considered to be much more than the storage of facts in one's mind. Memory was "a proclivity or disposition (*habitus*) of the soul rather than a power or activity itself."[208] As *habitus*, memory was the source of both knowledge and action. If one's memory was stocked with moral and ethical *dicta et facta memorabilia*, then one's actions would also be moral and ethical.

The nature of memory images is what makes the previous statement true. Aristotle described memory images (phantasms, or in Latin *imagines*) as *pathos*, meaning that they leave an image in the soul, and these images constitute what we call memory.[209] Memory images were also considered *passio* because the imprints they left on the soul constituted

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[207] Robertson, 84. Robertson points to Cassian's *Conferences*, 14.10.2 to draw this conclusion.
[208] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 81. Here Carruthers is echoing French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*.
[209] Carruthers, 85.

a physical change, an "affect" of the memorial image. Memory, then, was not a thing but a process and, moreover, was a process in which emotion was key.[210] The *habitus* of memory consisted of "particular emotional responses and acts performed in the past and remembered, which then predispose it [the mind] to the same response in the future."[211] As memory is trained through experiences to respond in a certain way to certain situations it becomes *habitus*. *Habitus*, however, is not merely the product of habituation but involves consensual choice. For this reason, the ability to make moral choices requires not only memories of those things which are moral and good but also the ability to recall them.[212] This is the function of a trained memory. According to mnemotechnical schemata, the foundation of trained *memoria* lies in imprinting things in one's memory by the process of *meditatio* (as it was used in ancient and early Christian texts to mean "memorization"). As Jerome stated in his commentary on Ezekiel 40:4: "Nothing that you have seen or heard is useful, however, unless you deposit what you should see and hear in the treasury of your memory."[213] And as Albertus Magnus wrote more than eight hundred years later, the basis of moral acts (e.g. prudence) must be imprinted in images on the soul.[214] Since the marginal hybrids were part of the visual system of the Macclesfield Psalter that facilitated the memorization of the sacred texts and imprinted them as images on the soul as the basis for future moral judgements, they necessarily contributed to the reader's ethical development.

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[210] Carruthers, 85.
[211] Carruthers, 85.
[212] Carruthers, 86.
[213] Jerome, *Commentarii in Hiezechielem* XII in *Commentarii in Hiezechielem Libri XIV*, ed. F. Glorie, vol. St, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 75 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1964); Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 20.
[214] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 172.

This idea that memorial images are *pathos* and *passio* is also connected to the medieval theory of vision. Along with the rise of universities in the early thirteenth century came a new conception of the senses based on the writings of Aristotle, which at this time were newly available in Latin translations from the Arabic versions of the original Greek text.[215] Aristotle estimated that sight was the most important of the five sense and that, for this reason, it was the components of the visual world through which man obtained knowledge. Things seen became knowledge, it was believed, through the internal senses in the brain. Based on the theories of Avicenna, medieval optical theory held that the "species" that objects emitted traveled through the eyes to the first stop in the brain, the *sensus communis* (common sense). The *sensus communis* perceived the physical appearance of objects. The image then traveled to the *imaginatio vel formalis*, the imagination, which retained the form of the object. The object was then judged by the *estimativa*. Another aspect of the imagination, called the *cogitiva*, was responsible for what we would now call imaginative thought, that which brought together the different stored things in the memory in the process of composition or invention. The place where these memory images lived was called the *vis memorativa*, located in the back of the brain and connected to the rest by the worm of the cerebellum.[216]

The logical consequence of this belief that objects convey knowledge, coupled with a system of cogitation in which images are the means by which thought occurs, is that as part of the visual world images convey knowledge. But it could not do so until the *phantasma* or *imagines* were stored in the *vis memorativa*. As such, the objects that serve as *imagines* hold the key to knowledge. We know that what was most fantastical in

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[215] Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*, Perspective (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996), 21.
[216] Camille, 23; See also Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 67–68.

appearance was also the easiest to remember, which suggests that in the Macclesfield the marginal hybrids were the tools best suited to serve as *imagines* and therefore to convey the knowledge of the Psalms to the reader. The hybrids, as the most visually striking and therefore most memorable aspect of the visual system of the Macclesfield Psalter, were the most important tool in the processes of sense perception and the process of memory creation. They enabled the brain to perceive and to internalize the words of the Scriptures whose purpose was to shape the reader in its own image. Memorization of good and moral things contributed to shaping one into a good and moral person and the marginal hybrids were vital actors in this process. If these initial assumptions are correct, then the marginal hybrids were the most important tools in the ethical development of the reader of the Macclesfield Psalter.

Yet another aspect of the marginal hybrids argues for their role in the ethical development of the reader. As discussed in Chapter 2, the marginal hybrids functioned as ready-made *imagines* (and invitations to further image creation) that the reader could use to imprint things on his memory by habit or by logical connection. The marginal hybrids, however, more often relate to the text through habit than through logical connection. Since these logical connections are not implied by the visual properties of the figures, then the marginal hybrids were unlikely to be used for remembering the text of the Psalms *ad verbum* (though the subjects of the historiated initials might be employed in this way). Rather, they were more likely to be used to recall the text *ad res*. *Memoria ad verbum* describes the memorization of a text word for word, whereas *memoria ad res* describes the domestication of a text (be it something written or spoken) in its essentials, its *res*, rather than exactly as written or spoken. *Memoria ad res* was considered to be superior to *memoria ad verbum* because it required creativity and active participation on the part of the person committing things to memory. Quintilian believed that *memoria ab verbum*

could easily devolve into something akin to the blind regurgitation of memorized facts or rote iteration, something he associated with the "trickery" of sophistical rhetoric.[217] As part of the culture of memory, this belief in the superiority of *memoria ad res* was perpetuated at least until the thirteenth century.[218] As agents of *memoria ad res*, the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter were more ethically valuable than literal illustrative depictions of the texts of the Psalms would have been in this context. The utility of this choice suggests that the use of such imaginative and fantastical images was purposeful and intentional, one that had an objective beyond that of decoration or diversion. Indeed, books of hours from later centuries, such as the example in Figure 38, often had a decorative panel that surrounded the text on all four sides and was constituted of floral and faunal elements rather than the more limited foliate border. While the inclusion or exclusion of marginal hybrids was no doubt a function of fashion to some extent, it may also have been a conscious choice. In the fifteenth century, the practice of *lectio divina* was no longer *au courant* and devotional manuscripts such as the book of hours were more attuned to the needs of the laity and, presumably, more subject to fashionable trends. Such manuscripts perhaps no longer required the same devotional apparatus, a fact reflected in their decorative programs. Given the need for the patron of the of Macclesfield Psalter to prepare for a clerical career, it seems logical to supply him with figures that would aid in learning the text by heart *ad res*, including the marginal hybrids, and therefore to contribute more strongly to his ethical development by engaging his senses and his mind in the reading process.

The nature of *memoria* and the process of memorization, of internalizing texts or other *dicta et facta memorabilia*, meant that what was remembered was made a part of the

[217] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 92–93.
[218] Carruthers, 93.

individual. Memory in the Middle Ages was not simply memorization as we now conceive it. The term *memoria* denoted truly domesticating knowledge and imbibing it so thoroughly that it became part of one's own history. In this view, individuals truly embodied what they had read, and it was considered entirely acceptable and appropriate for someone to express himself or herself in the words of another. These words, once committed to memory, belonged to the individual just as much as they belonged to the original author. As tools for imprinting the memory, marginal hybrids were important agents of textual domestication and therefore also of building character and fostering a moral disposition.

ETHICAL CULTIVATION THROUGH MEDITATION

Meditatio, in the sense of imaginative recollection in pursuit of deeper understanding, was also an act that inculcated moral behavior, both in its nature and in its practice. As discussed at length in the previous chapter, the aim of meditation was to uncover the mysteries of the word in order to achieve a connaturalness with God. The act of continuous prayer and meditation, which was the monastic ideal, was described by the early desert monks as *mneme theou*, "the memory of God."[219] It was the task of meditation to bring the individual to the state in which he experienced *mneme theou*, which was equivalent to the concept of *sacra pagina* in Latin.[220] It is telling that the Latin term contains the word *pagina*, because, as a religion of the book, it was the words and the sacred manuscripts that contained them that conveyed the presence of God throughout time and allowed the individual access to Him. Since God was believed to be the fount of all goodness, achieving oneness with Him and experiencing *mneme theou* would mean

[219] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 2.
[220] Carruthers, 2.

participating in His goodness. Thus, meditation led to a cultivation of the self in God's image.

The idea that reflective reading could help "to work out ethically informed philosophies of life" arose in the Hellenistic period.[221] This way of life was characterized by interiority, wisdom, self-control, and meditation, and was pursued, in part, through the reading of philosophy.[222] Incidentally, all of these values can also be used to characterize the ideal comportment of a Christian monk, suggesting a continuity between the conception of the ethical from antiquity to the Middle Ages. What Christianity added to this tradition was a "strengthening of the already established connection between meditation, as a spiritual exercise, and reading" in the form of *lectio divina*.[223]

This philosophical tradition received Christian expression most famously in the hands (or should I say the mind) of Augustine. The saint eloquently described the connection between memory and the "rereading and reediting of the self" in his *Confessions*.[224] It is in the memory, said Augustine, that

> I encounter myself and recall myself, and what, and when, and where I did some deed, and how I was affected when I did it…From the same abundant stock, also, I combine one and another of the likenesses of things, whether things actually known by experience or those believed in from those I have experienced, with things past, and from them I meditate upon future actions, events, and hopes, and all these again as though they were actually present. 'I will do this or that,' I say to myself within the vast recesses of my mind, filled with images, so many and so great, and this deed or that then follows.[225]

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[221] Brian Stock, *After Augustine: The Meditative Reader and the Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 14.
[222] Pierre Hadot, "Forms of Life and Forms of Discourse in Ancient Philosophy," in *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, ed. Arnold I. Davidson, trans. Michael Chase (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 59.
[223] Stock, *After Augustine*, 14.
[224] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 83.
[225] St. Augustine, *Confessions* 10.8.12 in *The Confessions of Saint Augustine*, trans. John K. Ryan (New York: Doubleday, 1960), 237.

In essence, Augustine viewed his memory as a place to commune with himself, to evaluate his past deeds, to recreate the emotions felt, and to use that experience to determine his future actions. Those future actions were determined by the Scriptures. Elsewhere in the *Confessions* Augustine stated that when he heard Ambrose expound on the allegorical meaning of passages from the Old Testament, he confronted his own error in having believed that their literal meaning was their true meaning.[226] Through reading and meditating on the Scriptures, then, Augustine believed he could discover his own failings and use that knowledge to reedit himself with the words of the Bible as the governing principles of his reinvention. God's law, which one discovered in the Scriptures through meditation, could be used to develop one's self morally and ethically.

As Augustine's experience suggests, reading was a "technology of the self."[227] Through narrative it was possible "to analyze one's life as a story with moral implications, and to analyze stories with moral implications as if they had been lived."[228] This principle arose in the Eastern monastic tradition, but through the writings of Cassian it was introduced to the West and adopted by Western monasticism.[229] Indeed, we can see it reflected later in Bernard's belief that "*lectio* would provide a locus for spiritual experience that would transform such monastic readers. The readers were goaded to make a connection between the text and personal experience; in this way each would capture the text's meaning in terms of his or her own experience."[230] In this view, the Scriptures were

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[226] St. Augustine, *Confessions* 5.14.24 in Ryan, 131.
[227] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 141. The term "technology of the self," according to Studzinski, refers to "a method for uncovering and shaping the self" (141). The term was originally coined by Michel Foucault shortly before his death.
[228] Stock, *After Augustine*, 26.
[229] Luther Martin, "Technologies of the Self and Self-Knowledge in the Syrian Thomas Tradition," in *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 60–61.
[230] Studzinski, *Reading to Live*, 150.

not only, or even primarily, a source for "secret and esoteric saving knowledge" but rather a place for discovering one's self and remaking one's self in God's image.[231] The marginal hybrids represent this reediting, embodying it in their very forms. They are, in essence, a mirror of the reader, whose duty was to compose (or re-compose) himself by incorporating the words and precepts of the holy texts and written wisdom of the Fathers, Prophets, and wise men and women into his identity. He would then embody the morality of these texts and knowledge, thus reediting himself as the word incarnate. This could only be achieved if the reader searched for the deeper meaning in the Scriptures, if he proceeded from the literal to the mystical by means of meditative reading. The marginal hybrids, as tools for meditation, are consequently also *loci* of ethical development. They are neither monstrous nor grotesque, neither amusing diversion nor meaningless ornament. Hybrids, as aids to the reediting of the self, are the very embodiment of the goodness, beauty, and truth which the pious Christian so ardently desired.

The passionate ardor with which devout Christians pursued *mneme theou* highlights another aspect of Christian ethics worth noting. In the Christian conception of how to live a virtuous life emotions played a role they had not played in Hellenistic thought, which held that emotions and reason exist in opposition and that reason is the superior of the two. As an exemplar of moral living, Christ's life as related in the Gospels could not be separated from the emotions, such as humility, meekness, and charitable love, that he practiced and championed.[232] Those wishing to personify a Christian morality thus needed to feel and to enact those sensibilities as well. I contend that the importance of emotion in the developments of a Christian moral character, which is also saw expression in later medieval devotional practice, is reflected in the centrality of emotion in *meditatio*. The

[231] Studzinski, 141.
[232] Stock, *After Augustine*, 20.

beginning of meditation was *compunctio cordis*, the welling up of feeling associated with strong affective responses to potent mental or visual images/imagings. As demonstrated above, the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter were the agents of *compunctio cordis* in the manuscript. In this capacity, then, they connected to broader views on role of emotion in the development of a moral, Christian life. By providing this stimulus, the hybrids not only aided the reader in entering meditation, which itself facilitated the development of a moral nature, but also enacted a principle of Christian ethics: the affective imitation of Christ.

Meditation, while to some extent dependent on unconstrained emotion and free-ranging in scope, as Hugh of St. Victor described it, was both an exercise of the intellect and one guided by principles. Dominican scholar Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), who we recall from the discussion of the revival of memory training in Chapter 2, asserted that prudence, which classical thought defined as including something akin to the skill and knowledge of a craft, could be found in intellectual activities. Aquinas stated: "Since, then, the habits of the speculative intellect do not perfect the appetitive part, nor affect it in any way, but only the intellective part; they may indeed be called virtues in so far as they confer aptness for a good work."[233] Meditation, as Carruthers fittingly formulated, is a "*craft* of thinking" (Carruthers's emphasis).[234] As a craft that required training and possessed guidelines for practice, *meditatio* (and *lectio divina* more generally) would, according to Thomas, be an element of prudence as long as the subject used his will in order to employ *meditatio* to live and act well. Since the goal of *meditatio* was ultimately to remake one's self in God's image, which includes living and acting according to the precepts of

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[233] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I-II, Q. 57, art. 1, concl. in *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (New York: Benzinger Bros., 1947), https://dhspriory.org/thomas/summa/FS/FS057.html#FSQ57OUTP1.
[234] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 4.

Christianity (which, it goes without saying, were considered good and moral), then *meditatio* would, by Thomas' definition, be a dimension of prudence. As *machinae* for the craft of *meditatio*, marginal hybrids were tools for and "sites" at which ethical cultivation occurred.

Bernard, too, recognized the transformative role of images in the craft of *meditatio*. His oft-quoted comment on monstrous images in the cloisters in the *Apologia* is, far from an indictment of images themselves, a rebuke of those who use those images in lieu of devoting the focus needed to create their own.[235] These indolent monks would, through their laziness, be easy prey for *curiositas*. Meditation required ardent concentration and a committed heart. A mind that was not focused wholly on the process of meditation, including the making of images for its facilitation, could easily be distracted by the wonderous beasts and hybrids carved into the stone of the cloister. In seemingly speaking against the presence of images in the monastery, Bernard is actually recognizing the importance of one's mental images in the prevention of *fornicatio*. Bernard believed that a monk should strive in his meditational practice to "to create meditational compositions *entirely* within the mind, relying on a repertoire of images already in place, and not needing other people's programs to stimulate (or, worst of all, substitute for) his own fiction."[236] These images should be designed, as all memorial images ought to be, to keep the mind focused on the contemplative act. This conviction reflects Bernard's belief in the validity of memorial images in the ethical activity of *meditatio*. The marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter, as has been shown, functioned as guards against *curiositas* and therefore, by Bernard's standards, would have been classed as appropriate tools for

[235] Carruthers, 84–85.
[236] Carruthers, 85.

meditation and thereby, due to the very nature of meditation, implements for ethical development.

As the foregoing attempts to make clear, memory, reading, meditation, ethics, and concepts of the self and self-improvement were intricately interconnected in medieval culture. All were bound up in the creation and use of devotional books. The pages of the Macclesfield Psalter gave form to this complex network of associations, in the interplay between text and image and the interaction of the reader with both. The visual components of the manuscript participated in a system of belief that went well beyond the written and decorated page. The book was the starting place from which the reader could reflect upon himself, project himself into the Biblical narratives and sacred texts, examine his actions in light of the wisdom of the words, and recreate himself based on the values there expounded. Through the word, he could access those emotions by which to live in humble imitation of Christ and enact the wisdom of sages in his own behavior. Those things that facilitated this process were themselves agents of ethical development. As the principal tool in both memorization and meditation, the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter did the most to further this process for its young patron, a man just entering into this process of self-discovery and identity building in reflection of the glory of God that his vocation embodied.

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters, I have endeavored to demonstrate the way(s) in which the marginal hybrids in the Macclesfield Psalter functioned as *loci* of ethical cultivation. I have argued that, on the practical level, they served as *aides-mémoire*, playing a critical role in the overall visual system of the manuscript and its design based on the principles of mnemotechnique. Building on this, I showed that the marginal hybrids functioned on spiritual and ethical levels that took the practical level as their foundation. As facilitators of *meditatio*, the marginal hybrids assisted the reader in his quest to discover the deeper, more profound significance of the Scriptures and, by so doing, to strive for connaturalness with God. Because of their role in both memorization and meditation, the marginal hybrids were shown to act as *loci* and *machinae* of ethical cultivation because they facilitated the reader's domestication of the text in his mind and heart and made it possible for him to confront his true nature and work to reedit himself in the image of God through *meditatio*.

Because the Macclesfield Psalter was created for a young man either in minor orders or just beginning his clerical training, and created under the supervision of his Dominican confessor, we can safely conclude that the devotional utility of the Psalter was meant to be similar to that of manuscripts created for use in a monastic setting. Whether the owner of the Macclesfield Psalter had expressly been taught *lectio divina* by his confessor or was more tangentially exposed to the practice through his association with the monastic and Church institutions that inherited the long tradition of meditative reading, it does not seem farfetched to assume that the Psalter was intended to be the object of traditional *lectio*. The presence, then, of *loci* for *meditatio* in the form of marginal hybrids seems not only appropriate but expected. Given the manuscript's clear pedagogical

purpose, I would propose that the Macclesfield Psalter was intended as a spiritual and ethical primer for its young male patron under the instruction of his Dominican confessor.

Further research is certainly needed to support this supposition, but it seems likely that the practical, spiritual, and ethical functions of marginal hybrids are also at work in the other devotional manuscripts of the Gothic period that contain them. Indeed, the fact that these types of figures are, for the most part, absent from secular texts suggest that their presence in devotional and religious texts is significant and particularly consequential to manuscripts of this type.[237] Further, the greater standardization of the motifs in historiated initials juxtaposed against the relative lack of iconographic standards in the marginal hybrids echoes the personal nature of meditation and the innumerable varieties of inspiration by which *meditatio* was initiated. There seems little doubt that marginal hybrids had a pedagogical purpose and were included in Gothic manuscripts not simply to entertain but, more importantly, to instruct the reader in how he or she was to use the text. The ideas presented in this study can enhance our appreciation of marginal hybrids as "designedly functional" entities, the presence of which was integral to the devotional utility of medieval manuscripts. We should now confidently discard the marginal/central paradigm that relegates "the margins" to the edge of meaning and instead celebrate this framing element as the locus of the reader's most immediate, personal, and fruitful interactions with the text.

[237] Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, 14.

Appendices

TABLES

Table 1. Comparison of the Standard English Program of Psalm Historiated Initials to the Program in the Macclesfield Psalter

	English Program	**Macclesfield Psalter**
Psalm 1	Tree of Jesse	Tree of Jesse
Psalm 26	Anointing of David	Anointing of David
Psalm 38	Judgment of Solomon	Saul ordering the murder of Achimelech and the priests of Nob
Psalm 51	Doeg slaying the priests of Nob	Doeg slaying the priests of Nob
Psalm 52	Devil in representations of the Temptation of Christ	King David and the fool who denies God's existence (French)
Psalm 68	Jonah and the whale	Missing
Psalm 80	Jacob's encounter with the angel	Missing
Psalm 97	Annunciation to the Shepherds	Annunciation to the Shepherds
Psalm 101	Personification of Ecclesia	Missing
Psalm 109	God the Father and Christ the Son enthroned with the Holy Spirit	God the Father and Christ the Son enthroned

Table 2. Catalog of Bas-de-Page Scenes

Folio	Content/Subject	No. of Figures	Major Text Division
10r	Man with shield and sword fighting a griffin; hybrid man playing instrument	3 (1 human; 1 hybrid; 1 animal [mythical])	Psalm 1
15r	Rabbit and dog playing a positive organ	2 (2 anthropomorphic animals)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 8)
22r	Monkey doctor with urine sample and animal patient	2 (anthropomorphic animals)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 14)
36r	Man shooting an arrow at an owl	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 24)
39r	Heralds with trumpets w/ hybrids in the vines	5 (2 human; 3 hybrids)	Psalm 26
45v	Monkey peering into a man's anus	2 (1 human; 1 anthropomorophic? animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 31)
46v	Hound attacking a deer with hybrid looking on	3 (2 animals; 1 hybrid)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 32)
58r	Man on a horse and woman pointing at a Wildman	3 (2 human; 1 animal; 1 mythical figure)	Psalm 38
61v	Hybrid figure and man fighting	2 (1 human; 1 hybrid)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 49)
68r	Man fleeing from a giant skate	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 45)
72v	Man on a horse pointing a sword at a woman holding food?	3 (2 human; 1 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 49)

76v	Knight in combat with snail; man tumbling from a tree; squirrel onlooker	4 (2 human; 2 animal)	Psalm 51
77r	Ploughing scene	4 (2 human; 2 animal)	Psalm 52
85r	Traveler with dog on a leash	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 59)
98r	Crippled man and fox doctor	2 (1 human; 1 anthropomorphic animal	N/A (below opening of Psalm 69)
106r	Cat with mouse	2 (2 animal)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 74)
110v-111r	Hybrid figure (111r) shooting a bow and arrow at a classicizing nude figure in the foliate border overleaf (110v)	2 (1 human; 1 hybrid)	N/A (text of Psalm 77)
115v-116r	Rabbit hunter riding a dog (115v) with rabbit emerging from a warren (116r) (NOT FACING)	4 (1 anthropomorphic animal; 3 animal)	N/A (within Psalm 78)
116v	Man in a cauldron while another man blows on the flames	2 (2 human)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 79)
119v	Hybrid wards off fly with a spear	2 (1 hybrid; 1 animal)	N/A (text of Psalm 82)
121v-122r	Hybrid figure shooting bow and arrow (121v) while rabbits emerge from foliate border (NOT FACING)	5 (1 hybrid; 4 animal)	N/A (text of Psalm 84)
129r	Dog chasing a rabbit	2 (2 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 86)
126r	Minotaur? roasting a man on a spit	2 (1 human; 1 mythical animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 88)
132v-133r	Man shooting a bow and arrow (133r) at a man and hybrid figure climbing the vines overleaf (132v)	3 (2 human; 1 hybrid)	N/A (end of Psalm 90 to opening of Psalm 91)
134r	Man pursuing a fox running off with a goose	3 (1 human; 2 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 92)

135v	Hybrid playing a trumpet into the face of a bird (crane?)	2 (1 hybrid; 1 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 94)
139v	Courting scene	2 (2 human)	Psalm 97
140r	St. Dunstan pinching the Devil's nose (face of the Devil erased)	2 (1 human; 1 mythical?)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 98)
141r	Hybrid kissing? a bird	2 (1 hybrid; 1 animal)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 99)
143v	Man riding a hybrid shooting a bow and arrow at a rabbit while a creepy old man baby head growing out of the foliate border looks on	4 (1 human; 2 hybrid; 1 animal)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 102)
148r	Man fending off hybrid with a spear	2 (1 human; 1 hybrid)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 104)
151r	Rabbit and dog jousting	4 (2 anthropomorphic animal; 2 animal)	N/A (below opening of Psalm 105)
151v-152r	Rabbit funeral (overleaf)	6 (6 anthropomorphic animal)	N/A (text of Psalm 105)
155r	Goat and ape kissing (either anthropomorphic or humans dressed as animals)	2 (2 human or anthropomorphic animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 106)
161v	Man speaking to a king with a black and white bird in between	3 (2 human; 1 animal)	Psalm 109
162v-163r	Fox with a rooster in its mouth (162v), fox looking at a rooster perched on the foliate border (163r)	2 (2 animal, appearing twice)	N/A (text of Psalm 110-111)
167v	A man exposing his backside to another man (administering a clyster?); partially erased	2 (2 human)	N/A (below the opening of Psalm 17)
169v-170r	Bishop blessing a female figure who grows out of the foliate border (169v) while a double-ended hybrid in a fancy hat gestures from overleaf (170r)	3 (2 human; 1 hybrid)	N/A (opening and text of Psalm 118)

170v	Swineherd getting acorns for his pig by hitting the border foliage with a stick	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	N/A (text of Psalm 118)
176r	Man using a slingshot against a cowering knight in armor (David and Goliath?)	2 (2 human)	N/A (text of Psalm 118)
182v-183r	Man in a helmet? kneeling (182v) and gesturing to a naked man riding backwards on a donkey overleaf (183r)	3 (2 human; 1 animal)	Psalm 119 (to Psalm 120)
187v	Woman taking gloves from a man who is holding the hand of a man dressed as some kind of animal (or an anthropomorphic animal)	3 (3 human [or 2 human, 1 anthropomorphic animal])	N/A (near opening of Psalm 129)
193v	Man wrangling a stag	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 137)
204r	Two people playing a positive organ	2 (2 human)	N/A (near opening of Psalm 146)
233r	Phyllis and Aristotle?	2 (2 human)	N/A (collects)
235v	Man tumbling off his horse	2 (1 human; 1 animal)	Opening of the Office of the Dead (Vespers)
236r	Grotesque holding a bowl into which a putto? is urinating (classical allusion?)	2 (1 grotesque; 1 classical figure)	N/A (text of the Office of the Dead)
237v	Priest or bishop reading from a lectern while a crouching figure looks on from above	2 (2 human)	Opening of the Office of the Dead (Lauds)
238r	Fox killing a sheep	2 (2 animal)	N/A (Office of the Dead, Lauds?)
242r	A person looking into another person's anus (partially erased)	2 (2 human)	N/A (Office of the Dead)
246r	Man (patron?) praying at an altar	1 (1 human)	Opening of the Confession prayer

Table 3. Catalog of Hybrids per Folio

Folio	No. of Hybrids	Text Division
1r	0	Prefatory miniature
1v	0	Prefatory miniature
2r	0	Calendar
2v	0	Calendar
3r	0	Calendar
3v	1	Calendar
4r	0	Calendar
4v	0	Calendar
5r	0	Calendar
5v	1	Calendar
6r	0	Calendar
6v	0	Calendar
7r	0	Calendar
7v	0	Calendar
8r	0	“Suscipere dignare”
8v	0	“Suscipere dignare”
9r	3	**Psalm 1**
9v	0	Psalm 1/2
10r	1	Psalm 2
10v	0	Psalm 2/3
11r	3	Psalm 3/4
11v	1	Psalm 4
12r	3	Psalm 4/5
12v	0	Psalm 5
13r	2	Psalm 5/6
13v	0	Psalm 6
14r	2	Psalm 7
14v	0	Psalm 7
15r	1	Psalm 7/8
15v	1	Psalm 8
16r	0	Psalm 8/9
16v	2	Psalm 9
17r	1	Psalm 9
17v	1	Psalm 9
18r	1	Psalm 9
18v	2	Psalm 9
19r	6	Psalm 9/10

19v	1	Psalm 10/11
20r	3	Psalm 11
20v	2	Psalm 11/12
21r	2	Psalm 12/13
21v	0	Psalm 13
22r	1	Psalm 13/14
22v	1	Psalm 14/15
23r	1	Psalm 15
23v	2	Psalm 15/16
24r	0	Psalm 16
24v	2	Psalm 16
25r	0	Psalm 16/17
25v	0	Psalm 17
26r	1	Psalm 17
26v	2	Psalm 17
27r	1	Psalm 17
27v	0	Psalm 17
28r	1	Psalm 17
28v	0	Psalm 17
29r	4	Psalm 17/18
29v	1	Psalm 18
30r	3	Psalm 18/19
30v	1	Psalm 19
31r	1	Psalm 19/20
31v	0	Psalm 20
32r	1	Psalm 20/21
32v	0	Psalm 21
33r	1	Psalm 21
33v	0	Psalm 21
34r	1	Psalm 21
34v	1	Psalm 21/22
35r	1	Psalm 22
35v	1	Psalm 22/23
36r	3	Psalm 23/24
36v	1	Psalm 24
37r	1	Psalm 24
37v	1	Psalm 24/25
38r	1	Psalm 25
38v	1	Psalm 25
39r	6	**Psalm 26**
39v	2	Psalm 26

40r	1	Psalm 26
40v	2	Psalm 26/27
41r	1	Psalm 27
41v	1	Psalm 27/28
42r	1	Psalm 28/29
42v	1	Psalm 29
43r	0	Psalm 29
43v	2	Psalm 30
44r	1	Psalm 30
44v	1	Psalm 30
45r	1	Psalm 30
45v	1	Psalm 30/31
46r	0	Psalm 31
46v	1	Psalm 31/32
47r	1	Psalm 32
47v	1	Psalm 32
48r	0	Psalm 33
48v	3	Psalm 33
49r	1	Psalm 33
49v	0	Psalm 33
50r	0	Psalm 34
50v	0	Psalm 34
51r	1	Psalm 34
51v	2	Psalm 34
52r	1	Psalm 34/35
52v	1	Psalm 35
53r	1	Psalm 35/36
53v	0	Psalm 36
54r	1	Psalm 36
54v	3	Psalm 36
55r	1	Psalm 36
55v	0	Psalm 36
56r	1	Psalm 36/37
56v	1	Psalm 37
57r	1	Psalm 37
57v	0	Psalm 37
58r	1	Psalm 37/**Psalm 38**
58v	0	Psalm 38
59r	1	Psalm 38
59v	1	Psalm 38/39
60r	1	Psalm 39

60v	1	Psalm 39
61r	2	Psalm 39
61v	1	Psalm 39/40
62r	0	Psalm 40
62v	0	Psalm 40/41
63r	1	Psalm 41
63v	0	Psalm 41
64r	2	Psalm 41/42
64v	1	Psalm 42/43
65r	1	Psalm 43
65v	1	Psalm 43
66r	1	Psalm 43
66v	2	Psalm 43/44
67r	1	Psalm 44
67v	0	Psalm 44
68r	2	Psalm 44/45
68v	1	Psalm 45
69r	3	Psalm 45/46
69v	0	Psalm 46/47
70r	2	Psalm 47
70v	3	Psalm 47/48
71r	1	Psalm 48
71v	1	Psalm 48
72r	1	Psalm 48
72v	0	Psalm 48/49
73r	1	Psalm 49
73v	1	Psalm 49
74r	1	Psalm 49/50
74v	0	Psalm 50
75r	0	Psalm 50
75v	1	Psalm 50
76r	1	Psalm 51
76v	1	Psalm 51
77r	2	**Psalm 52**
77v	2	Psalm 52/53
78r	1	Psalm 53
78v	1	Psalm 54
79r	0	Psalm 54
79v	0	Psalm 54
80r	1	Psalm 54
80v	0	Psalm 54/55

81r	1	Psalm 55
81v	1	Psalm 55/56
82r	1	Psalm 56
82v	3	Psalm 56/57
83r	2	Psalm 57
83v	1	Psalm 57/58
84r	1	Psalm 58
84v	0	Psalm 58
85r	1	Psalm 58/59
85v	1	Psalm 59
86r	1	Psalm 59/60
86v	1	Psalm 60/61
87r	1	Psalm 61
87v	2	Psalm 61/62
88r	1	Psalm 62
88v	1	Psalm 62/63
89r	1	Palm 63
89v	1	Psalm 63/64
90r	1	Psalm 64
90v	0	Psalm 64/65
91r	2	Psalm 65
91v	1	Psalm 65
92r	3	Psalm 65/66
92v	0	Psalm 66/67
93r	1	Psalm 67
93v	1	Psalm 67
94r	1	Psalm 67
94v	0	Psalm 67
95r	2	Psalm 67
95v	1	Psalm 67
96r	1	Psalm 68
96v	1	Psalm 68
97r	0	Psalm 68
97v	1	Psalm 68
98r	0	Psalm 68/69
98v	0	Psalm 69/70
99r	1	Psalm 70
99v	1	Psalm 70
100r	1	Psalm 70
100v	1	Psalm 70
101r	1	Psalm 70/71

101v	0	Psalm 71
102r	0	Psalm 71
102v	3	Psalm 71/72
103r	1	Psalm 72
103v	1	Psalm 72
104r	1	Psalm 72
104v	1	Psalm 72/73
105r	1	Psalm 73
105v	1	Psalm 73
106r	0	Psalm 73/74
106v	2	Psalm 74
107r	2	Psalm 74/75
107v	1	Psalm 75
108r	0	Psalm 75/76
108v	0	Psalm 76
109r	1	Psalm 76
109v	1	Psalm 76/77
110r	1	Psalm 77
110v	0	Psalm 77
111r	1	Psalm 77
111v	2	Psalm 77
112r	1	Psalm 77
112v	0	Psalm 77
113r	0	Psalm 77
113v	0	Psalm 77
114r	1	Psalm 77
114v	1	Psalm 77
115r	1	Psalm 77
115v	0	Psalm 77/78
116r	0	Psalm 78
116v	0	Psalm 78/79
117r	1	Psalm 79
117v	0	Psalm 79
118r	1	Psalm 80
118v	1	Psalm 80/81
119r	1	Psalm 81
119v	2	Psalm 82
120r	1	Psalm 82
120v	2	Psalm 82/83
121r	1	Psalm 83
121v	1	Psalm 83/84

122r	0	Psalm 84
122v	4	Psalm 84/85
123r	1	Psalm 85
123v	1	Psalm 85
124r	0	Psalm 85/86
124v	0	Psalm 86/87
125r	0	Psalm 87
125v	1	Psalm 87
126r	1	Psalm 87/88
126v	2	Psalm 88
127r	1	Psalm 88
127v	1	Psalm 88
128r	0	Psalm 88
128v	1	Psalm 88
129r	1	Psalm 88
129v	0	Psalm 88
130r	1	Psalm 88/89
130v	1	Psalm 89
131r	1	Psalm 89
131v	4	Psalm 89/90
132r	1	Psalm 90
132v	1	Psalm 90
133r	0	Psalm 90/91
133v	0	Psalm 91
134r	1	Psalm 91/92
134v	2	Psalm 92/93
135r	1	Psalm 93
135v	0	Psalm 93
136r	0	Psalm 93
136v	2	Psalm 93/94
137r	2	Psalm 94/95
137v	1	Psalm 95
138r	1	Psalm 95
138v	1	Psalm 95/96
139r	1	Psalm 96
139v	2	**Psalm 97**
140r	0	Psalm 97/98
140v	0	Psalm 98
141r	1	Psalm 98/99
141v	2	Psalm 99/100
142r	1	Psalm 101

142v	1	Psalm 101
143r	1	Psalm 101
143v	3	Psalm 101/102
144r	1	Psalm 102
144v	1	Psalm 102
145r	0	Psalm 102
145v	1	Psalm 102/103
146r	1	Psalm 103
146v	0	Psalm 103
147r	1	Psalm 103
147v	2	Psalm 103
148r	1	Psalm 103/104
148v	1	Psalm 104
149r	0	Psalm 104
149v	1	Psalm 104
150r	1	Psalm 104
150v	0	Psalm 104
151r	0	Psalm 104/105
151v	0	Psalm 105
152r	0	Psalm 105
152v	0	Psalm 105
153r	0	Psalm 105
153v	1	Psalm 105
154r	1	Psalm 105
154v	1	Psalm 105
155r	1	Psalm 105/106
155v	1	Psalm 106
156r	0	Psalm 106
156v	1	Psalm 106
157r	0	Psalm 106
157v	1	Psalm 106
158r	2	Psalm 106/107
158v	1	Psalm 107
159r	1	Psalm 107/108
159v	0	Psalm 108
160r	1	Psalm 108
160v	0	Psalm 108
161r	1	Psalm 108
161v	4	Psalm 108/**Psalm 109**
162r	1	Psalm 109
162v	2	Psalm 110

163r	0	Psalm 110/111
163v	0	Psalm 111
164r	0	Psalm 111/112
164v	2	Psalm 112/113
165r	0	Psalm 113
165v	1	Psalm 113
166r	1	Psalm 113
166v	0	Psalm 113/114
167r	1	Psalm 114/115
167v	0	Psalm 115/116/117
168r	1	Psalm 117
168v	1	Psalm 117
169r	2	Psalm 117
169v	0	Psalm 117/118
170r	1	Psalm 118
170v	0	Psalm 118
171r	1	Psalm 118
171v	1	Psalm 118
172r	2	Psalm 118
172v	0	Psalm 118
173r	3	Psalm 118
173v	0	Psalm 118
174r	0	Psalm 118
174v	0	Psalm 118
175r	0	Psalm 118
175v	0	Psalm 118
176r	2	Psalm 118
176v	2	Psalm 118
177r	0	Psalm 118
177v	3	Psalm 118
178r	0	Psalm 118
178v	2	Psalm 118
179r	2	Psalm 118
179v	1	Psalm 118
180r	1	Psalm 118
180v	1	Psalm 118
181r	1	Psalm 118
181v	2	Psalm 118
182r	1	Psalm 118
182v	3	Psalm 118/119
183r	1	Psalm 119/120

183v	0	Psalm 120/121
184r	2	Psalm 121/122
184v	1	Psalm 122/123
185r	1	Psalm 123/124
185v	1	Psalm 124/125
186r	2	Psalm 125/126
186v	2	Psalm 126/127
187r	1	Psalm 127/128
187v	0	Psalm 128/129
188r	0	Psalm 129/130
188v	2	Psalm 130/131
189r	0	Psalm 131
189v	0	Psalm 131
190r	0	Psalm 131/132/133
190v	2	Psalm 133/134
191r	0	Psalm 134
191v	1	Psalm 134
192r	1	Psalm 135
192v	1	Psalm 135
193r	1	Psalm 135/136
193v	0	Psalm 136/137
194r	0	Psalm 137
194v	1	Psalm 137/138
195r	0	Psalm 138
195v	1	Psalm 138
196r	1	Psalm 138
196v	1	Psalm 139
197r	0	Psalm 139
197v	2	Psalm 139/140
198r	1	Psalm 140
198v	1	Psalm 141
199r	1	Psalm 141/142
199v	0	Psalm 142
200r	0	Psalm 142/143
200v	1	Psalm 143
201r	0	Psalm 143
201v	1	Psalm 143/144
202r	0	Psalm 144
202v	1	Psalm 144
203r	1	Psalm 144
203v	1	Psalm 144/145

204r	0	Psalm 145/146
204v	1	Psalm 146
205r	1	Psalm 146/147
205v	1	Psalm 147/148
206r	1	Psalm 148
206v	0	Psalm 148/149
207r	0	Psalm 149/150
207v	3	Psalm 150/**Canticle of Isaiah**
208r	1	Canticles
208v	0	Canticles
209r	0	Canticles
209v	0	Canticles
210r	1	Canticles
210v	1	Canticles
211r	0	Canticles
211v	1	Canticles
212r	1	Canticles
212v	1	Canticles
213r	0	Canticles
213v	0	Canticles
214r	1	Canticles
214v	0	Canticles
215r	1	Canticles
215v	0	Canticles
216r	0	Canticles
216v	1	Canticles
217r	1	Canticles
217v	0	Canticles
218r	0	Canticles
218v	2	Canticles
219r	1	Canticles
219v	1	Canticles/Te Deum
220r	1	Te Deum
220v	1	Te Deum
221r	1	Te Deum
221v	1	Te Deum
222r	1	Te Deum
222v	2	Te Deum
223r	0	Te Deum
223v	1	Te Deum
224r	0	Nunc dimittis/Athanasian Creed

224v	0	Athanasian Creed
225r	0	Athanasian Creed
225v	1	Athanasian Creed
226r	1	Athanasian Creed
226v	1	Athanasian Creed
227r	0	Athanasian Creed
227v	1	Litany
228r	1	Litany
228v	0	Litany
229r	1	Litany
229v	1	Litany
230r	1	Litany
230v	1	Litany/Collects
231r	0	Collects
231v	0	Collects
232r	1	Collects
232v	1	Collects
233r	1	Collects
233v	1	Collects
234r	1	Collects
234v	1	Collects
235r	0	Collects
235v	5	**Office of the Dead**
236r	2	Office of the Dead
236v	2	Office of the Dead
237r	2	Office of the Dead
237v	3	**Office of the Dead**
238r	0	Office of the Dead
238v	1	Office of the Dead
239r	0	Office of the Dead
239v	1	Office of the Dead
240r	1	Office of the Dead
240v	0	Office of the Dead
241r	2	Office of the Dead
241v	0	Office of the Dead
242r	0	Office of the Dead
242v	0	Office of the Dead
243r	1	Office of the Dead
243v	1	Office of the Dead
244r	0	Office of the Dead
244v	1	Office of the Dead

245r	2	Office of the Dead
245v	0	Office of the Dead
246r	1	Office of the Dead
246v	1	Office of the Dead/Confession prayer
247r	0	Confession prayer
247v	1	Confession prayer
248r	0	Confession prayer
248v	1	Confession prayer
249r	1	Prayer to Christ
249v	0	Prayer to Christ
250r	0	Prayer to Christ
250v	1	Prayer to Christ
251r	1	Prayer to Christ
251v	1	Prayer to Christ
252r	0	Prayer to Christ

FIGURES

Figure 1: Historiated initials in the Macclesfield Psalter

Figure 2: Initial "U" from the opening of Psalm 12 ("Usquequo Domine"), fol. 20v

Figure 3: Foliate border, fol. 29r

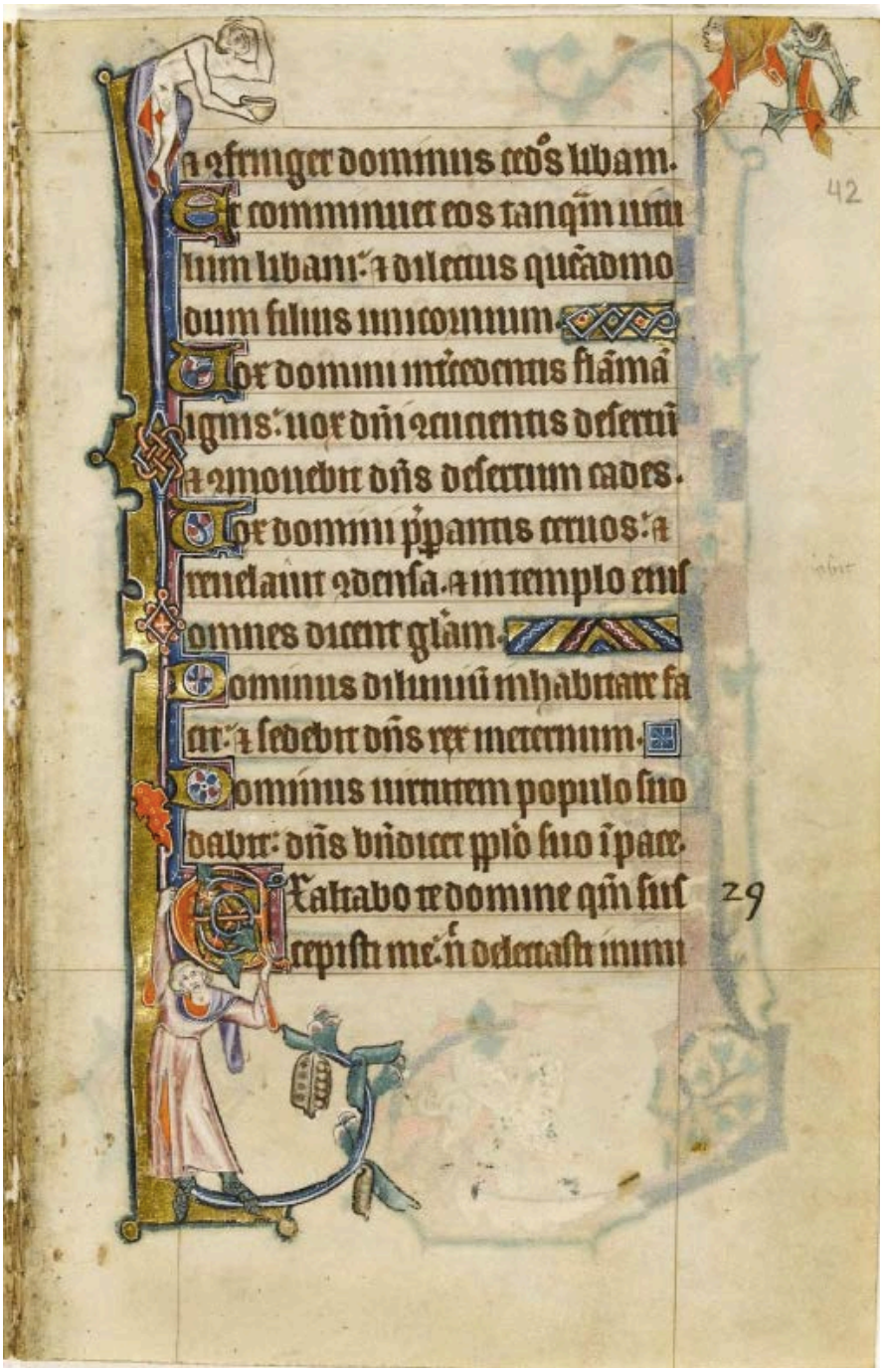

Figure 4: Free-floating hybrid (upper right corner), fol. 42r

Figure 5: Bas-de-page combat scene (David and Goliath), fol. 176v

Figure 6: Bas-de-page scene of a riding a hybrid and shooting a bow and arrow at a cowering rabbit observed by a head growing out of the foliate border, fol. 143v

Figure 7: Man in a helmet kneeling and gesturing to a naked man riding backwards on a donkey overleaf, fols. 182v-183r

Figure 8: A quinary hybrid, fol. 118v

Figure 9: Hybrids interacting, fol. 181v

Figure 10: Human vine-hybrid, fol. 69r

Figure 11: Hybrids in a line ending, fol. 131v

Figure 12: Partially erased scatological scene, fol. 242r

Figure 13: Grotesque in the margin, fol. 200r

Figure 12: Figural *manicula*, fol. 52r

Figure 13: Figural *manicula*, fol. 66v

Figure 14: Man and skate *bas-de-page* scene, fol. 68r

Figure 15: Rabbit and dog jousting, fol. 151

Figure 16: Y-shaped marginal figure, fol. 221r

Figure 17: Historiated initial (Psalm 97), Annunciation to the Shepherds, fol. 139v

Figure 18: Man playing transverse harmonic flute in the lower margin, fol. 188r

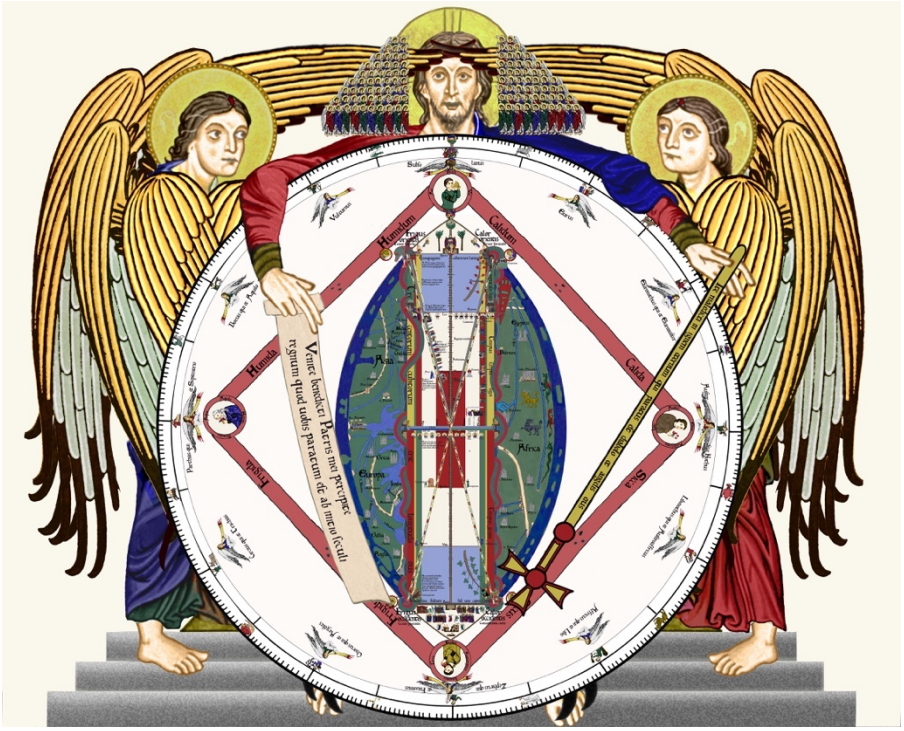

Figure 20: Reconstruction of Hugh of St. Victor's Mystic Ark by Conrad Rudolph

Figure 19: The central cubit of Hugh of St. Victor's Mystic Ark as reconstructed by Conrad Rudolph

Figure 21: Vision of St. Bernard, Lower Rhine, 14th century (Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, M 340)

Figure 22: Picture of Hell from the *Hortus deliciarum* (fol. 255), Hohenbourg, from a 19th-century copy of the original 12th century manuscript, now destroyed

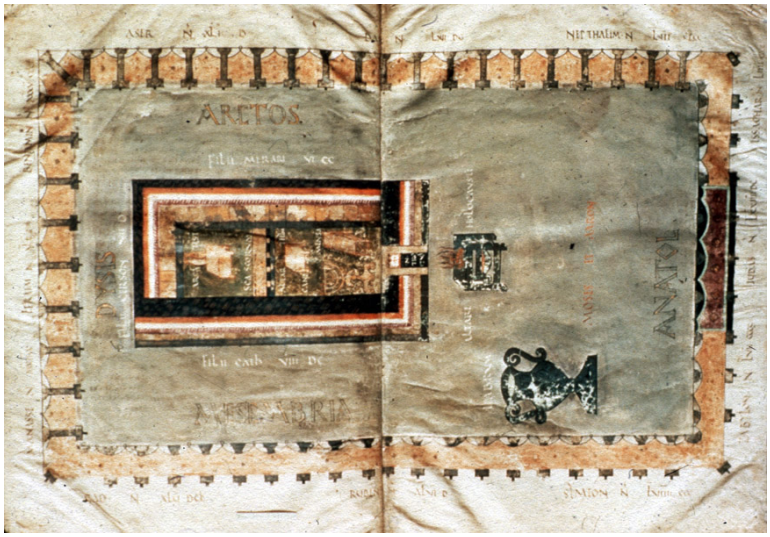

Figure 23: Picture of the Tabernacle, Codex Amiatinus (fols. IIv-III), Jarrow (northern England), c. 715 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Amiatinus I)

Figure 24: Tripartite hybrid, fol. 53r

Figure 26: Four hybrids (circled in red), fol. 29r

Figure 25: Trio of hybrids in the *bas-de-page*, fol. 48v

Figure 27: Multi-faced hybrid, fol. 30v

Figure 28: Marginal hybrid with drapery covering the transition between head and body, fol. 42r

Figure 29: Marginal figures interacting with foliate border, fol. 122v (top), fol. 180r (middle left), fol. 205v (middle left), fol. 121v (bottom)

Figure 30: Marginal hybrid "regurgitating" the foliate border, fol. 123v

Figure 31: Marginal hybrid with vine growing out of the nose, fol. 125v

Figure 32: Foliate border terminating in human head on fol. 172r (top) and flowers on fol. 149r (bottom)

Figure 33: Vines growing from a hybrid's head on fol. 164v (left) and from two hybrids' posteriors on fol. 118v (right)

Figure 34: "Spiritually flatulent" vine-hybrid, fol. 13v

Figure 35: Macclesfield Psalter, fol. 75v-76r

Figure 36: Book of Hours, Florence of Fiesole, c. 1480 (Southern Methodist University, Bridwell Library, BRMS 14)

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